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T Stafford Drowne

With the best regards  
of his Brother

Henry T. Drowne.

New York, July 9, 1866.





THE  
MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL  
INFLUENCE OF LIBRARIES  
UPON  
SOCIAL PROGRESS.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ON ITS  
SIXTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1865.

BY  
FREDERIC DE PEYSTER,  
*President of the Society.*



NEW YORK:  
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY.  
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~~SECRET~~

At a stated meeting of the NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, held in its Hall, on Tuesday evening, November 21st, 1865, to celebrate the 61st Anniversary of the founding of the Society :

The Address was delivered by the President of the Society, FREDERIC DE PEYSTER, Esq.; the subject being, THE MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCE OF LIBRARIES ON SOCIAL PROGRESS.

On its conclusion, the Rev. SAMUEL OSGOOD, D. D., after some remarks, submitted the following resolution, which was adopted :

RESOLVED, That the thanks of the Society be presented to its President, FREDERIC DE PEYSTER, Esq., for his instructive and interesting discourse before the Society this evening, and that a copy be requested for its archives.


A true extract from the minutes.

ANDREW WARNER,

*Recording Secretary.*



# Officers of the Society, 1866.



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FREDERIC DE PEYSTER.

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THOMAS DE WITT, D. D.

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EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

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SECOND CLASS—FOR TWO YEARS.

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[The officers of the Society are members, *ex officio*, of the Executive Committee.]

COMMITTEE ON THE FINE ARTS.

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ANDREW WARNER, *Secretary.*

[The President, Librarian and Chairman of the Executive Committee are members, *ex officio*, of the Committee on the Fine Arts.]



## ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS.

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MR. VICE-PRESIDENT, AND FELLOW-MEMBERS OF THE  
NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

**T**HE subject which I purpose to consider this evening is—*The Moral and Intellectual Influence of Libraries upon Social Progress*. As this subject is to be viewed in its special relations to our own country, and to the responsibilities and duties which in this respect are imposed upon us, I shall first ask your attention to some remarks upon the growth of certain great principles and ideas in the history of the nation, and the position occupied by this Republic in the social progress of the world.

In doing this, I shall refer more especially to some recent facts which it is eminently suitable for us, as a Historical Society, to consider.

Since we last met, on a similar occasion, a year has passed which is indissolubly connected with the future welfare and happiness of America. It cannot fail to be forever prominently conspicuous in the annals of our country, and to hold up, not only to our own citizens, but to the people of other lands, the standard of human liberty and human rights which is destined to wave over a world disenthralled.

This brief period is crowded with the achievements of a mighty nation, rising in its conscious strength to subdue a Rebellion at enmity with American principles and Democratic freedom, and impelled by a deep sense of its imperative obligations to preserve, at every hazard and under all emergencies, the PALLADIUM of its existence, the UNION; its REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS, and the Supremacy of the FEDERAL GOVERNMENT throughout the length and breadth of THE UNITED STATES.

In the face of this gigantic strife, of lurking treason in the loyal States, and of the sympathy and material aid, which the ruling classes in certain portions of Europe covertly or openly extended to the States in rebellion; most triumphantly and effectually has the American Republic executed its firm resolve, by the gallantry of its true-hearted people, their exhaustless endurance, and their many and severe sacrifices.

By the blessing of the SOVEREIGN RULER of the Universe, who guides the destinies of nations, these patriotic efforts, and an unflinching devotion to



duty, which "a sense of justice" and of "a common brotherhood" have intensified, have maintained the cause of right and of freedom, and established, as on a rock of adamant, the great and fundamental principles upon which this Republic rests.

And now, in the presence of these great principles and these glorious events, with their resulting benefits, we are here assembled to celebrate our Sixty-first Anniversary. Our thoughts naturally revert to these interesting and important circumstances, because with them are connected the future destiny of our country. These reflections create a just and national pride which makes the American citizen sensible that it is a mighty nation which upholds the

"Flag of the free heart's only home!"

A brief review of the various and eventful facts which are embraced in the recent war, but more especially of those which relate to the present year, cannot fail to demonstrate the value of their influence in every portion of this vast continent, where various races are struggling for the blessings of Civil and Religious Freedom, as well as in the Old World, where ever its institutions, its usages, and its injustice to the masses come in contact with our own free, liberty-loving, and representative form of Republican Government.

"The love of liberty," says Mr. Webster, in his Address delivered before this Society, "is a passion

“or sentiment which existed in intense force in the  
“Grecian Republics, and in the better ages of Rome.  
“It exists now, and, first of all, on that portion of  
“the western continent in which we live. Here it  
“burns with heat and with splendor beyond all  
“Grecian and all Roman example. It is not a  
“light in the Temple of Minerva; it is not the  
“vestal flame of Rome: it is the light of the sun—  
“it is the illumination of all the constellations.  
“Earth, air, and ocean, and all the heavens above  
“us, are filled with its glorious shining; and al-  
“though the passion and the sentiment are the same,  
“yet he who would reason from Grecian liberty or  
“Roman freedom to our intelligent American liberty,  
“would be holding a farthing candle to the orb of  
“day.”

Such a retrospect is not taken in a spirit which seeks to depreciate institutions essentially differing from our own, or merely to indulge a sentiment, however just and proper, which derives gratification from this contrast; but from a justifiable desire to vindicate the truths and establish the rights which have become the present property and the future heritage of our countrymen.

In the literature and art of every country there breathes a spirit which is inspired by the patriotism and patriotic exploits of the people. History, Poetry and the Fine Arts will impart fresh interest, and lend a grace to scenes which are identified with the present

era in our history. Time, as it rolls on, and future generations succeed the witnesses who have looked upon those scenes and participated in them, will furnish opportunities to genius and artistic taste, to render immortal every distinctive feature which truth can illustrate or imagination depict; in order fully to present a faithful portraiture of this eventful period.

Before I proceed to consider, however, the operation of great Christian principles which are the source of what are known and recognized among us as *American ideas*; I desire to pay a merited compliment to our own State for the position which she took and gallantly maintained during the whole of the late rebellion.

I am aware that the occurrences of the recent civil war are national in their character, and that objection may be made to their introduction in an Address before an Association of a local designation; but it must be borne in mind that this Society is not exclusively a State organization. Its founders were actuated by patriotic, liberal, and enlarged sentiments. They considered it to be not only their duty, but a duty incumbent on their successors, to procure, and preserve for historical investigation and illustration, whatever related to the four departmental objects which were embraced in their well-considered design.

This effort on their part was seconded by the Legislature of the State of New York in 1809. In the Act which incorporated this Institution, passed on

the 10th of February in that year, these several departments are described as those which embrace, in the following order, "the Natural, Civil, Literary, "and Ecclesiastical History of the United States in "general, and of this State in particular." Thus, this Society has a *National* as well as a *State* designation and character in this wide domain of literature.

The rebellion, recently subdued, arose from conflicting views, involving questions and principles not only connected with the United States at large, but with the alleged rights and privileges which appertained to each State; especially of those whose object was to sustain the States in rebellion, in order to justify their attempt to secede, and thus to overthrow the Union.

Against that gigantic attempt, the State of New York—no "wayward sister"—promptly met her obligations to the Union. She knew well that with the preservation of it was bound up the national existence. Both being thus imperiled, she armed for the conflict, raised aloft the star-spangled banner, and called upon her sons to march to the rescue; and to show, by their valor and their devotion, their determination that the national flag should wave upon every foot of land, over which the Federal Government ought, by the common compact, to be and continue supreme. They nobly responded to her summons, and heroically, on many a well-fought field, as in the deadly breach, maintained

her plighted faith and honor, and manifested their own patriotism and indomitable courage.

This loyal State—great in all the elements which have given her a distinguished position among her sister communities—will never forget her surviving, nor cease to lament her lost heroes! Her grief for those who have perished on the battle-field, or by the perils of a soldier's life in active service, finds expression in a line of the Roman poet, which, in few but touching words, describes the anguish of Orpheus, disconsolate for the loss of his beloved wife Eurydice—

“Te veniente die, te decedente canebat.”

Inconsovable for her death, caused “by the bite of “a serpent,” he descended to the lower world, and, by the charms of his lyre, “won the ear of Pluto” to let her return to earth, on the condition that he would not look round upon her until he had reached it. In the ardency of his love, he *looked back*, forgetful of his promise, and thus forever lost

“His half-regain'd Eurydice.”

But our noble State, ever mindful of the bonds which bind her and her children to the UNION, considered it to be a religious duty on their part to peril their lives in its defense, against foes “more “vengeful than the serpent's tooth.” She *looked up* to the heavens above in the pious hope that those of

her sons who had fallen in the late strife had there found an entrance, in the solemn, mortal hour; whether on the battle-field, the picket, the march, the deck, or when stretched on a pallet in the lonely hospital; by that "watch-word at the gates  
"of death"

——"the soul's sincere desire,  
"Utter'd or unexpress'd,  
"The motion of a hidden fire  
"That trembles in the breast."

She calls to mind—as who does not that has been a careful observer?—the repeated occurrences where the love of country has triumphed over the pangs of dissolution; and enabled the dying volunteer, as he gathered his remaining strength for the effort, to ejaculate a blessing upon the Union—

"Et dulces, moriens, reminiscitur Argos."

Whilst, however, I thus commend my own native State, I am not unmindful of the like patriotic devotion of the gallant volunteers of every other loyal State. Together they all battled for the same glorious Union; together the living mingle their joy for its preservation; and together they are associated in that warm sympathy which the calamities of this sad war have awakened in loving and loyal hearts.

That devastating war, which the people of all the States can now scan in its fearful and yet glorious results, was a war of opinions! It was a clashing of

prejudices and interests, intensified by local peculiarities, which led ultimately to "the irrepressible conflict." Now, also, we can calmly and more clearly estimate its huge proportions, the vastness of the materials required for its vigorous prosecution, and the necessary and innumerable appliances demanded by the rapid strides, which emergencies developed in military science and the "art of war."

These and various other and manifold incidents are associated with the crowning events which decided that conflict. How forcibly in this connection do those memorable lines from "The Battle Field," by our own liberty-loving poet, apply to this decisive result.

" Truth crushed to earth shall rise again :  
" The eternal years of God are her's ;  
" But Error, wounded, writhes with pain,  
" And dies among his worshippers."

All these incidents have now passed into history ! When the materials which relate to this rebellion are fully gathered and carefully systematized, and from these its history is written in a philosophical spirit, marked by the rare qualities which distinguished the "Father of History"—in imitation of Thucydides, who said of his great work that it was not written "for the entertainment of the moment, but to be a possession forever;" with the creamy richness of Livy—"Livii lactea ubertas;" and, above all, with the pen of truth and the charity that "rejoiceth in

“the truth” and “never faileth,” our Republican Institutions may then, with a just and an ennobling pride, rest their merits and their fame on this graphic, unimpeachable and immortal RECORD.

Great and glorious as are the triumphs and military prowess of the nation, its civil history has also its proud record to display.

In November, 1864, in the minds of many, at home and abroad, whose “wish” probably was “father to the thought,” a national crisis was at hand, which might change the character of the civil war then reaching its climax. The general election on the eighth day of that month for electors of the President and Vice-President of the United States, was to determine whether the existing policy of the Federal Government was to be sustained or changed.

Well might the Old World, with its antipathies and antiquated views, from *its stand-point*, apprehend disastrous consequences from this exercise of the supreme will of the people.

The loyal men of the country knew better the magnitude of the issues at stake, and the responsibility resting upon *them*. Without clamor or tumult they deposited their ballots, which by an overwhelming majority decided that ABRAHAM LINCOLN, their tried, staunch, upright and able leader, was to retain command of the ship of State, and that ANDREW JOHNSON, equally reliable, fearless, true and just, should be next in authority; a result that afforded conclusive assurance



that with the rebellion should also perish the cause of it.

This decisive result is the best test that could be afforded of the mind of the people, their intelligent action and firm resolve. Never was an imperative duty fraught with vital results more patriotically or conscientiously discharged. This decision was a most significant fact of the law-abiding character of the people upon whom, under God, depended the destiny of the nation. This event was a noble example of the Union sentiment overlooking all minor differences and considerations, and it infused fresh vigor in the national councils.

In moral grandeur this scene transcends any recorded event in the civil history of any country in ancient or modern times! It is a proud record of republican institutions in their representative combination, moving harmoniously in concert in times of eminent peril, as they had in the times previous when the blessing of peace rested on them. Justly may America challenge the world for a parallel!

From this commanding eminence the dawn of the coming day becomes more visible which is to shed its noontide of glory upon our vast national territory blessed with universal freedom, secured to every portion of the Republic by the Constitutional Amendment (certain of adoption), which is the permanent extinction of slavery. "The liberty of Athens, and "of the other Grecian Republics, being founded in

“pure democracy,” Mr. Webster, in the Address already referred to, asserted, “was fitted only for small States. The exercise of popular power in a purely democratic form cannot be spread over countries of large extent; because in such countries all cannot assemble in the same place, to vote directly upon laws and ordinances, and other public questions. But the principle of representation is expansive—it may be enlarged, if not infinitely, yet indefinitely, to meet new occasions and embrace new regions. While, therefore, the love of liberty was the same, and its general principle the same in the Grecian Republics as with us, yet not only were the forms essentially different, but that also was wanting, which we have been taught to consider as indispensable to its security—that is, a fixed, settled, definite, fundamental law or Constitution, imposing limitations and restraints equally on governors and governed. We may, therefore, inhale all the fullness and freshness of the Grecian spirit, but we necessarily give its development a different form, and subject it to new modifications.”

Is, then, joy that the Union is preserved, and that this “fundamental law” is to be fixed and definite, which makes no exception to limit freedom, not to find expression on an occasion like this? In the presence of these deeds is it inappropriate for me, in this honored place, to rejoice that liberty at length has become universal by the triumph of *American ideas*; promul-

gated by the founders of our republican form of government, which in process of time have worked out their own solution? I need not, I feel assured, anticipate an unfavorable judgment; for the facts stated furnish no reproach but to disloyalty, whilst the inferences they suggest are unmingled in intention with party feeling or political bias!

But whilst these ideas are entitled to all the admiration which the remembrance of their solemn promulgation on the 4th of July, 1776, never fails to excite; yet we should never forget their original source, and their living inculcation by the Divine Author of Christianity. In few but significantly impressive words He defined the two great principles which were to be the basis of the religion which He taught, and the rule of action for all those who were to be gathered within its vast fold. These were "Love to God—and to man!" These two precepts are the first and the last links in a chain on which all the intermediate ones depend. He dignified human nature in His own person, and taught that God was no respecter of persons—for He judged the heart, out of which were the issues of good and evil. His doctrines and teachings were designed for the elevation of the masses: therefore "the common people heard him gladly." Such was the essence of Christianity! It sought to recover mankind, by its teachings and practice, from ignorance and vice to true knowledge and virtue.

The following description, by Bishop Porteus, of its tendency and results, is so admirable, that I cannot deny myself the pleasure of repeating it :

“Although Christianity has not always been so  
“well understood, nor so honestly practiced, as it ought  
“to have been ; although its spirit has been often mis-  
“taken, and its precepts misapplied ; yet, under all  
“these disadvantages, it has gradually produced a  
“visible change in those points which most materially  
“concern the peace and quiet of the world. Its benef-  
“icent spirit has spread itself through all the different  
“relations and modifications of life, and communi-  
“cated its kindly influence to almost every public  
“and private concern of mankind. It has insensibly  
“worked itself into the inmost frame and constitution  
“of civil States. It has given a tinge to the com-  
“plexion of their Governments, to the temper and  
“administration of their laws. It has restrained the  
“spirit of the prince and the madness of the people.  
“It has softened the rigor of despotism, and tamed  
“the insolence of conquest. It has, in some degree,  
“taken away the edge of the sword, and thrown even  
“over the horrors of war a veil of mercy. It has de-  
“scended into families, has diminished the pressure of  
“private tyranny, improved every domestic endear-  
“ment, given tenderness to the parent, humanity to  
“the master, respect to superiors, to inferiors ease ; so  
“that mankind are upon the whole, even in a tem-  
“poral view, under infinite obligations to the mild

“and pacific temper of the Gospel, and have reaped  
“from it more substantial worldly benefits than from  
“any other institution upon earth.”

At the time that these United States sprang into existence, like Minerva, full armed, but not, like fiery Mars, heedlessly eager for the combat, it was no sudden impulse that induced them to put forth that immortal manifesto. They had been trained gradually to the adoption of measures which, by the peace of 1783, secured their independence, but which had been forced upon them by the usurpation of the British Government and Parliament, and the indifference and neglect of the English nation to their repeated applications for redress. The people of this country walked in the light of civil and religious liberty, and of that freedom which was the common privilege of all.

Independence was the first fruit of this “Declaration,” and one of its noblest productions. There remained the fulfillment of their further promulgation, that among the “unalienable rights” enumerated in that extraordinary and immortal Document, were those of “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.”

Under the guidance of an All-Wise and All-Seeing Providence these truths, deathless, and pregnant with ultimate success, were the fruit of those very *ideas* which years of Colonial subjection had instilled into the minds of the leading men of the revolutionary

æra, as well as into those of their progenitors, and which had been transmitted by them and their children from generation to generation. These great truths, subjected to every kind of doubtful disputation, have at length, after four score and ten years of probation, become triumphant by the “fundamental law”—the Constitutional Amendment—which, with the abolition of slavery, permanently establishes their vindication.

Thus it has happened that when the “corner stone” of a new political edifice was attempted to be laid, which was antagonistic to these *truths*, and to our Republican form of Government, the stone itself rebounded, and crushed the very “Institution” which it was designed to perpetuate!

The seal of the public approbation of that memorable measure, when finally affixed by the dominant will of the People to the solemn ratification of the principles which those inestimable truths nearly a century since proclaimed, is the indisputable evidence that Liberty has become like the pure air of heaven—a universal boon throughout this great Republic. It will prove to be the Polar Star of America, attract to our shores the oppressed of other lands who pant for the blessings of constitutional freedom, which a powerful nation places within their reach; subject only to the wholesome restraints of equal laws, applicable alike to *free men*.

But independently of its home influences, that in-

valuable measure, when it shall become a fundamental law of the land, will stimulate the Republics on this Continent, still lying in the darkness which is not yet irradiated by the light of Civil and Religious Freedom, to follow in the footsteps of this Great Republic, and strive to imitate her successful career.

How forcibly does this glorious consummation recall to mind the joy of the Jews, after the Decree of Cyrus had restored them to liberty and their homes, with permission to rebuild their City and Temple, when "the captivity of Zion" was ended.

When this news was made known to them, they are represented to have been "like them that dream;" like as were the inhabitants of the Grecian cities when Titus Quintius Flamininus, by proclamation, restored them to liberty, to exemption from taxes, and the privilege of living according to their own laws.

This occurred at the time of the Isthmian Games, about one hundred and ninety-six years before the Christian æra. The Romans were seated to behold them—multitudes from all Greece being there assembled, a herald went into the circus to announce the games, none but the Roman general knowing what was to follow.

Silence being obtained, the herald solemnly pronounced the following brief but terse proclamation :

"Senatus Romanus et T. Quinctius, Imperator,  
"Phillippo rege Macedonibusque devictis ; liberos,  
"immunes, suis legibus esse jubet Corinthios, Pho-

“cenſes, Locrenſeſque omnes, et Inſulam Eubœam,  
 “et Magnetæ, Theſſalos, Perrhæbos, Achæos,  
 “Phthiotas.”

The Roman Senate and T. Quintius, the General, having vanquiſhed King Phillip and the Macedonians, do ordain that the Corinthians, Phocians, all the Locrians, the Eubœans, the Magnetiſians, Theſſalians, Perrhæbians, Achæans and Phthiotians, ſhall be free, be delivered from all taxes, and live according to their own laws.

Livy relates the impreſſion which this generous act produced on the aſtoniſhed Grecians in a manner affecting as it is natural, and in a part of his remarks in words almoſt identical with thoſe of King David in the hundred and twenty-fixth Pfalm. “This proclamation of the herald being heard, there was ſuch joy that the people in general could not comprehend it. Scarcely could any perſon believe what he had heard. They gazed on each other, wondering as if it had been *ſome illuſion, ſimilar to a dream*; and although all were intereſted in what was ſpoken, none could truſt his own ears, but inquired each from him who ſtood next to him what it was that was proclaimed. The herald was again called, as each expreſſed the ſtrongeſt deſire not only to hear, but ſee the meſſenger of his own liberty: the herald therefore repeated the proclamation.” I now quote from the original—“Tum ab certo jam gaudio tantus cum clamore plauſus eſt



“ortus, totiesque repetitus, ut facile appareret, nihil  
“omnium bonorum multitudini gratius quam *Lib-*  
“*ertatem esse.*” When by this repetition the glad tidings were confirmed, there arose such a shout, accompanied with repeated clapping of hands, as plainly showed that *of all good things none is so dear to the multitude as Liberty!*<sup>1</sup>

Well might Cicero exclaim, “O! nomen dulce  
“libertatis! O! jus eximium nostræ civitatis!”<sup>2</sup>

These reminiscences of the past are vividly repeated in the recent occurrences of our day. The “Eman-  
“cipation Proclamation” and the martyrdom for Liberty of Abraham Lincoln, have made his name imperishable as history itself. To use his own words, he was “with malice towards none; with charity for  
“all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us  
“to see the right.”

The efforts of his successor, in a like liberty-loving spirit, hold out the expectation that Andrew Johnson may with greater force be considered, in the words which Cicero applied to Virgil, and Virgil, in the *Æneid*, to Iulus—“*Magnæ spes altera Romæ.*” For to him is now committed the arduous task of carrying into effect the recommendations of his illustrious predecessor, which were “to finish the  
“work we are in; to bind up the nation’s wounds;  
“to care for him who shall have borne the battles, and his widow and orphans; to do all  
“which may achieve and cherish a just and a

“lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.”

When this work is done, and the Union is restored to its true equipoise, when liberty is made secure by Constitutional law, and the bitterness of the past is removed by such influences as spring from the teachings of the martyred Lincoln, then shall all America be enabled fully to respond to the sentiments of the great Roman orator, “O! sweet name of Liberty! “O! unparalleled right of our country!”

The object of introducing this historical illustration is not only to trace the deep-rooted sentiment of liberty, whose fibres penetrate the inmost recesses of the human heart, in all classes and among all races; but to show also the beneficial results which flow from a generous and wisely liberal policy.

The reconstruction of the States recently in rebellion calls for magnanimity in action and wisdom in execution of the plans to be devised, which shall restore harmony among all the States, strengthen anew the bonds of a common Union, and guard with precautionary and judicious measures the restored rights of the Freedmen.

In these latter respects the course of Flamininus presents an instructive lesson, deserving the attention which that lesson invites. “His conduct,” remarks Dr. Anthon, in a brief sketch which the learned professor has given of Flamininus, “throughout these memorable transactions was marked by a wisdom,

“moderation and liberality seldom found united in a  
“victorious Roman general. He was thus the means  
“of protracting the independence of the Greek States  
“for half a century longer.”<sup>3</sup>

When Flaminius had settled the affairs of Greece, he prepared to return to Rome (194 B. C.) Before leaving Corinth for this purpose, he withdrew his garri- sons from all the Grecian cities, and finally carried out the provisions of his proclamation. Immunity from taxation was included in those provisions, but such an immunity, where representation exists, is not ap- plicable to our American States. Deputations from those cities assembled to take an affectionate leave of him. The Senate, on his return to Rome, decreed him a triumph of three days. The people received their General and his victorious army with great ac- clamation. In the rear of the triumphal procession followed the Roman prisoners, who had been sold by Hannibal in the second Punic war, as slaves, and who had obtained their freedom by the gratitude of the Greeks, for the benefits which they had received from Flaminius.

The Achæans alone are represented as having paid one hundred talents for the liberation of twelve hun- dred of those very prisoners from slavery. We may justly assume that where these Greeks participated in those considerate and benevolent measures of the Roman general, the other cities were not backward in largely assisting in the gratifying spectacle which, on



those three days, was presented to the martial and imperial city of Rome, by the reunion with its citizens of the victims of the great Carthaginian.

In our day, under the influences of Christian kindness and a common brotherhood, we may reasonably expect that a like discerning policy in the settlement of the various differences of opinion, and the reconciliation of clashing interests and prejudices, which prevail in some of the States, may result in more strongly cementing the Union of all.

The "truths," so long dormant, whose very existence was questioned, and whose growth was deemed impracticable, have by their own innate virtue and vital power become, at length, not only "self-evident," but already productive of exhaustless good. What Lord Coke said of "Right," in its legal acceptance, may be now said of each right which these truths have established:—"that it was of such high estimation that the law preserveth it from death and destruction; trodden down it may be, but never trodden out."

The earnest and patriotic men of 1776 spake well and truly when they pronounced these "rights" *unalienable*! Trodden down they have been, but never trodden out. They have proved to be like the bag of *mustard seed* sent by Alexander the Great to Darius, in return for his barrel full of *sesame*. According to eastern tradition, the active energy of the former made it as apt "an emblem of the good as the ill." It

indicated the energy and the biting courage of his soldiers: the more they were *pressed* the more fiery were the qualities which the "conflict" produced; whilst the "fame" indicated the *numbers* whom Alexander vanquished.<sup>4</sup>

These same truths have been characterized as "glittering generalities." Time has shown them to be brilliant realities, pregnant with untold advantage to our own nation; fraught with hope and promise to the multitudinous populations of both worlds, and capable of securing by the one the fulfillment of the other.

The developments which gradually led to a full recognition of these solemn verities, "vindicate the ways of God to man." But, like all precious and eagerly sought-for acquisitions, they have been obtained by courageous and persistent efforts. In the recent struggle, what libations of kindred blood have been made to secure peace with freedom! What wounds and mutilated limbs, and personal sufferings, have resulted from the heroic devotion of a loyal people! What sacrifices of health and wealth to insure victory! These sadden the heart by recollections which also oppress the memory; but they furnish us with the assurance that no similar calamity will again assail our now disenthralled country.

Now, that this advance has taken place in our social system, we can more fully contemplate the causes which occasioned it, and thus we are enabled to trace its origin in the large proprietary class, which con-

trolled the action of the South and guided its movements. Without formal titles of distinction, this class enjoyed all the essentials of a landed aristocracy; they held the intermediate class, known as "the poor whites," in political subjection; and having made labor disgraceful to the white and the only proper employment of the lowest class, the black; the contrast between the higher and this menial condition rendered the degradation of the poor whites a political consequence; because, though nominally the equals of the lordly planters, virtually they were but as serfs, in all political matters.

Class domination governed social intercourse, and class conservatism clung to a system that dreaded the results of ideas, which inculcated the influential operation of those popular elements of power, inherent in the rights that made men equal in the eye of the law; and further, when thus encouraged, was destructive of the tendencies which virtually had their origin in feudalism.

Coleridge is reported to have said that "the free class in a slave State is always, in one sense, the most patriotic class of people in an *empire*; for their patriotism is not simply the patriotism of other people, but an aggregate of the lust of power, and distinction, and supremacy."<sup>5</sup>

What was the object of this free class in the recent rebellion but to build up "an empire," based on the irredeemable slavery of the black race, upon

whose tasked toil it was to subsist? What the tendency of the rule of their chosen chief, but the erection of a military despotism? And what the aim of both, but the threefold "lust" so aptly described by the acute and philosophic Coleridge?

It is said of Julius Cæsar, "that he had frequently in his mouth a verse of Euripides, which expressed the image of his soul, that, if right and justice were ever to be violated, they were to be violated for the sake of reigning. This was the chief end and purpose of his life—the scheme that he had formed from his early youth—so that, as Cato truly declared of him, he came with sobriety and meditation to the subversion of the Republic."<sup>6</sup>

The *coup d'état* that overthrew the French Republic, and founded in its stead the present empire, was the result of a *Napoleonic idea*, suggested by the mind of the great Julius. Had the boasted "chivalry of the South," identical with the dominant class to which I have adverted, and which, at the sacrifice of *right* and *justice*, madly plunged the so-called "Confederate States" into rebellion, succeeded in the attempt, the *form* of a Republican Government, assumed for the occasion, would speedily have been merged in such "an empire" as Coleridge intimated, with that of France, doubtless, as its model, and its ruler an ally. His declared anxiety for the welfare of Mexico, its neighbor, would have as truly sympathized with the *idea* as that on which this new empire was avowedly based!



A few months previous to the suggestion of Coleridge, upon which I have commented (January 4, 1833), he made the following remarkable prognostication, which, had its conclusion been equally correct, would have been justly considered an extraordinary prediction. "Naturally," he observed, "one would have thought that there would have been greater sympathy between the northern and north-western States of the American Union, than between England and the southern States. There is ten times as much English blood and spirit in New England as in Virginia, the Carolinas, &c. Nevertheless, such has been the force of the interests of commerce, that now, and for some years past, the people of the North hate England with increasing bitterness, while, among those of the South, who are Jacobins, the British connection has become popular."

His conclusion was that the American Union had no centre, and that it was impossible now to make one. "In fact, the Union will be shaken almost to dislocation whenever a very serious question between the States arises."<sup>7</sup>

Time, as we have seen, has tested this very question. That the Union has a "centre," and adequate centripetal and centrifugal forces, has been shown under circumstances of the *most serious* character. It has demonstrated that, like his countrymen in general, the inherent power of the American Republic was by him erroneously estimated.



There exist reasons to show logically, as well as "naturally," that the cause for this very *sympathy* arose, not only from mere interest, but also from a sentiment which the boasted spirit of chivalry had created, and which the spirit of the times has compulsively assuaged.

It is well known that the much-vaunted *Southern chivalry* had created a sentiment of such conventional force that it governed public opinion, and subjected the local laws to its "higher power." Its emblems were the *pistol* and the *bowie-knife*! The spirit of chivalry in the "dark ages," doubtless, did, in very many cases, exert a wholesome restraint. But after the dawn of modern history, a better civilization was introduced, and events have shown that social progress advanced more surely and beneficially where divine and human laws were made obligatory.

"I confess," said Dr. Arnold of Rugby, "that if I were called upon to name what spirit of evil pre-dominantly deserved the name of *Antichrist*, I should name the SPIRIT OF CHIVALRY—the more detestable "for the very guise of the 'Archangel ruined,' which "has made it so seductive to the most generous spirits, "but to me so hateful, because it is in direct opposition to the impartial justice of the Gospel, and its "comprehensive feeling of equal brotherhood, and "because it so fostered a sense of honor, rather than a "sense of duty."<sup>8</sup>

The colonial settlements on our Atlantic border

were made by races chiefly of Anglo-Saxon descent. In a general sense, they were lovers of freedom, of distributed power, and conscious of the right; but from bigoted views, political bias, and their mischievously consequent prejudices, they were often forgetful of the claims of "equal brotherhood," and cherished a false sense of honor that, as Arnold further alleged, "was incompatible with the highest virtue of which man is capable, and the last at which he arrives—a sense of justice;" setting up—when the spirit of chivalry, which he often called feudality, prevailed—"personal allegiance to the Chief above allegiance to GOD and LAW!"<sup>9</sup>

Between the southern and eastern colonies on our Atlantic border decidedly marked characteristics existed, resulting from differences in opinion and peculiarities of temperament. It is not my purpose to expatiate upon these distinctions; I can now only notice their existence. Political views on the one side, and hereditary influences on the other, with bigoted opinions and personal considerations on both, often made them forgetful of the claims of "equal brotherhood," and "a sense of justice;" whatever may have been their actual or pretended support at other times of that which each, in fact, deemed "a sense of duty."

These observations are now more directly applied to the former colonies, because of their early and known aristocratic proclivities. Had the schemes of colonization planned in the time of Elizabeth been carried

into effect, they would have become in fact feudal principalities, and the idea have been practically realized which is suggested in the Dedication of the Fairy Queen, wherein Spenser describes Elizabeth, "by the Grace of God, *Queen of England, France and Ireland—and Virginia.*"

At that time "Virginia" embraced a region which contained within its limits most of the Southern States, as appears from the grant made to Sir Walter Raleigh, which gave also prerogatives and jurisdiction of a vice-regal character, with an extent of territory almost indefinite.

The ruling classes of England have always sympathized with the descendants of these southern colonists. Both claimed to belong to that "chivalric" order which considered labor the badge "of the lower classes," and both regarded themselves as "fruges consumere nati." With the British government was the feeling of national and commercial rivalry. It had no wish to see "the possible destiny of the United States of America—as a nation of a hundred millions of freemen—stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, living under the laws of Alfred, and speaking the language of Shakespeare and Milton," which Coleridge added, is "an august conception!" He asked, "why should we not wish to see it realized? America would then be England viewed through a solar microscope—Great Britain in a state of glorious magnification."<sup>10</sup>

The interests of the commercial community of England inclined them, during the recent rebellion, to favor measures destructive of similar American interests—"recte," "aut quocunque modo." These influences, and a desire to see the United States dismembered, conjointly induced an ancient nation, whose boast was that its flag "has braved a thousand years," to grant, on the earliest pretext, belligerent rights to southern rebels, to furnish them with material aid, and so to construe their international laws as to make them instrumental in destroying, first, the commerce of a youthful competitor, and then its strength—its Union. At the same time it pretended to practice good faith, dispense impartial justice, and observe a strict international comity!

In the Stadium, among the Greeks, a *white line* marked out the ground to be run over, on which the competitors in the Isthmian games were to keep their eyes. Those who deviated from the course within this line ran unlawfully, and though they first reached the goal, were therefore not crowned. England has long been running in the contest with America for commercial supremacy on a *line marked out by herself*, and recently, in order to obtain the coveted prize, violated her good faith, sacrificed her "sense of justice," and, instead of fairness, used deception, by *running unlawfully*. In the face of open day she unblushingly pretends to have observed the strict rules of the game, and this, too, in order to avoid *a forfeit*.

Her conduct reminds me of the answer of Diogenes when urged to desist from his labors on account of his age: "Εἰ δολιχὸν ἔδραμον, πρὸς τῷ τέλει ἴδεις με ἀνεῖναι καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον ἐπιτεῖναι;" If I have run long in the race, will it become me to slacken my pace when come near the end: should I not rather stretch forward? That is as if he had said *κατὰ σκοπὸν*, *along the line*, and according to the strict rules of the course!"

Had England been as honest as the old cynic philosopher, she would have avoided the restitution which in time she will be ashamed to withhold, or be compelled of her own accord to make, in order to prevent others from adopting a course fatal to her own interests, on pretexts as flimsy as her present weak endeavor to defend a wrong.

Southey, in his "argument" prefixed to his Poem entitled "The Poet's Pilgrimage to Waterloo," contends that "upon the great scale, the human race "from the beginning has been progressive," and that "never was a victory so important to the best hopes "of human nature" as the battle there "won by "British valor," which left England "at leisure to "pursue the great objects of bettering her own condition and diffusing the blessings of civilization and "Christianity."

It has been the misfortune of the government of that country, in the attempt to accomplish these objects, to mingle the one with the other; so that, in diffusing these blessings, the desire to better her

“condition,” seems to have had the controlling influence. At times England appears wholly to have omitted the latter duty, in order to accomplish that which she deemed most profitable for her “condition.” Our civil war has furnished abundant evidence of this strong propensity on her part!

It may be safely, I think, alleged, that more has been accomplished by America, during the past four years, to advance social progress, than has been effected by England during the long interval which has elapsed since her memorable battle was fought. Her foreign policy has, during that period, sought to advance, ostensibly, the blessings of civilization and Christianity; while circumstances have shown that, in the effort, her commerce and love of acquisition have brought, upon the people and lands embraced in her projects, bloodshed, the encouragement of vicious indulgences, and a strong distrust of her desire to better their “condition” by any sacrifices detrimental to her own, without the admixture of sinister means for selfish purposes.

It is scarcely necessary to state the circumstances which justify this view of the improvement she has made of the “leisure” to which Southey adverts. It is sufficient for my purpose to introduce, as an instance, the course she pursued while the United States was engaged in putting down the rebellion against its government—the most formidable attempt of the kind in modern history. Had the

aristocratic and other influential classes in England looked with as much favor upon the much-needed reforms at home—to the claims of the unrepresented portions of her population, who are clamorously demanding to be heard by their representatives in the national councils—and to the redress of the fore evils which press with cruel infliction upon her lowest and most degraded classes, as they did upon the efforts of the English government to aid that rebellion, they could not have failed to have accomplished much for the better condition of England herself, and with much better success than has resulted from British interference with the attempt successfully made by the United States to enforce submission to the supremacy of their government. The principal point in which, in my view, England is distinguished from the United States, is that in England there is among the ruling classes a want, not of kindness towards, but of sympathy with, the laboring classes. Well did Sergeant Talfourd exclaim, just as he fell in death, “That which is wanting to bind together the bursting bond of the different classes of this country, is, not kindness, but sympathy.” It is in this sympathy with the lowest classes of the people that the United States pre-eminently excel.

I submit these remarks in no captious spirit, but as in strong contrast with the “objects and duties” to which Southey refers; and I state with pride and a consciousness of the truth, that our repub-

lic, by its noble and resolute course, has done more for the future of our race and its social progress than has, during the present century, been accomplished by England and France conjointly ; and this through instrumentalities demanding immense sacrifice of life, of treasure and domestic happiness, accompanied with a skill in the direction of public affairs and a devotion to her interests unsurpassed in the history of any other country.

I am not, however, insensible to the true glory and greatness of England. Besides her common law, her language and literature, America has enjoyed the benefits of the examples furnished by Hampden and Sidney, to enlarge and enforce principles of republican and constitutional liberty ; and of Clarkson and Wilberforce, in their philanthropic efforts to " blot the "accursed word of slave"<sup>12</sup>—all with joint claims to

" The equal honor of enduring fame !"

I am not forgetful of the virtues, learning, refinement and piety of multitudes among the people of England. In this same poem, Southey's encomium upon them is well deserved and just :

" There, under Freedom's tutelary wing,  
 " Deliberate courage fears no human foe ;  
 " There, undefiled as in their native spring,  
 " The living waters of Religion flow ;  
 " There, like a beacon, the transmitted light  
 " Conspicuous to all nations burneth bright."

At the same time we may well claim that *here*, rather than *there*, are realized his other words :



"From bodily and mental bondage," *here*  
"Hath Man his full emancipation gained ;  
"The viewless and illimitable air  
"Is not more free than thought ; all unrestrained  
"Nor pined in want, nor sunk in sensual sloth,"  
*Here* "may th' immortal mind attain its growth."

The political discussions which engaged the attention of the English Colonies a century since, and increased in intensity until the separation from the mother country was effected, seem to have impressed the minds of thoughtful men in England with the existence of the peculiar traits of American character. The lectures delivered by Dr. Priestley, during the last half of the preceding century, on "History and General Policy," first appeared from the press in 1788, when America had taken her position among the nations of the earth. In his forty-third lecture, delivered many years previously, he expressed the opinion that, in the monarchical States of Europe, it was "highly improbable that any form of properly equal government should be established for many ages;" but that "on the contrary, in North America there seems to be no prospect of the peaceable establishment of any form of government, besides one in which the rights of all shall be equal."

In the preceding pages the progress of *American ideas* has been shown, and also that their full recognition was accomplished by the results of the recent Rebellion.

In bringing to a close the consideration of the events to which I referred in the opening of this address, and which have taken a wider range than I designed, but which the nature of the subject demands, we arrive at the conclusion of the correctness of that leading truth which Niebuhr, one of the greatest of modern historians, thus philosophically states: "As in organic beings the most perfect life is that which animates the greatest variety of numbers; so among States, that is the most perfect in which a number of institutions, originally distinct, being organized, each after its kind, into centres of national life, form a complete whole." This leading principle in his science is fully exemplified in the formation of the American Republic, with its Federal Government. The idea is embodied in our national motto, "E Pluribus Unum."

In view of these incomparable results in our past history, and with these glorious prospects before us, I now pass to the special consideration of the influence of Libraries upon our future social progress, in order to present to you the design of "The Historical Museum," which is intended to be erected in the Central Park in this city, under the auspices of this Society, pursuant to an Act of the Legislature of the State, under circumstances so favorable, and with such liberal and extensive appliances, as to promise great and lasting benefits to the social interests not only of our City and State, but of the United States in general.

The act referred to is entitled "An Act to Improve the Central Park in the City of New York;" was passed on the 25th of March, 1862, submitted to the Commissioners thereof on the 10th of April following, and is here introduced in order that the nature of the "appropriation" to this Society, with its privileges, qualifications and provisions, may appear in the very words employed for the purpose:

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

§ 1. The Commissioners of the Central Park in the city of New York, are hereby authorized to set apart and appropriate to the New York Historical Society, the building within said Park heretofore known as the New York State Arsenal, together with such grounds adjoining the same as the said Commissioners may determine to be necessary and proper for the purpose of establishing and maintaining therein by the said society, a museum of antiquities and science, and a gallery of art.

§ 2. The expense of arranging and fitting up of the said arsenal building for the use and purpose aforesaid shall be borne by the said New York Historical Society, and the said society shall have the right, at its own expense, to add to, enlarge, or if need be, to take down the present building, and erect another on the grounds so set apart and appropriated; the plan of such addition, or new building, having been first submitted to, and approved by the Commissioners of the said Park.

§ 3. The museum and gallery contemplated in the first section of this act, when so established, shall be accessible to the

public under proper regulations, to be adopted by the said society, approved by the said Commissioners, and not inconsistent with the proper administration and management of the said Park.

§ 4. The evidence of setting apart and appropriation of the said arsenal building and grounds within the said Park, to the said New York Historical Society, for the purpose aforesaid, shall be a resolution to that effect, adopted by the Board of said Commissioners, duly acknowledged by its President, and recorded in the office of the Register of the city and county of New York.

§ 5. If the said New York Historical Society shall so establish their said museum of antiquities and science, and gallery of art, then, so long as they shall continue there to maintain the same, they shall occupy and enjoy the said building and grounds thus set apart and appropriated to them for the purpose aforesaid, free from any rent, assessment, or charge whatever therefor, and if the said society shall at any time hereafter, for any cause, discontinue their said museum of antiquities and science, and gallery of art, in the said arsenal building, or on the said grounds, then the said arsenal building, and any building whatever erected under the provisions of this act, and the said grounds before set apart and appropriated, shall revert to the said Central Park for the general purposes thereof; but the said society shall in such case be permitted to remove therefrom the said museum of antiquities and science, and gallery of art, and all its other property.

§ 6. The Legislature may at any time alter, repeal, or amend this act.

§ 7. This act shall take effect immediately.

The above enactments furnish gratifying evidence

of the interest manifested by the Representatives of the People of this State in the progress and usefulness of our Society, and the endeavour to accomplish the important ends which they have in view. The same appreciative estimate of the general design of this institution had been shown on previous occasions, when application was made for legislative assistance, either for its extrication from a burthened debt or for more available efforts to enable it to gather and preserve materials for historic research and illustration, as also to rescue from oblivion and the "tooth of Time" the perishable records of our National, State and municipal history.

It will be noticed that the Act in question designates the location of The Historical Museum in the Central Park, and contemplates the setting apart by the Commissioners of adequate grounds for its purposes. It makes it incumbent upon the Society to obtain the approval by the Commissioners of the plan of the proposed building; but such appropriation and such approval impose duties as obligatory upon the Commissioners for their due and prompt performance, as are the obligations resting upon the Society by the precautionary measures which the Legislature has taken in regard to the proper discharge of all the conditions imposed on them.

This Act was communicated, as has been stated, to the Commissioners on the 10th of April, 1862, and the Resolution which the Legislature required the

Commissioners to execute and record, as evidence of the authorized appropriation by them of grounds adequate for the purposes of the Society, was executed on the 3d of October, 1865, and recorded in the Register's office in this city on the 16th of the same month—but a little over a month since.

To their Executive Committee the Society delegated the power to appoint a Building Committee, whose duty it is to procure and lay before the Commissioners the required plan of the building to be erected on the site above designated, or of the alteration of the "Arsenal Building;" either of which the act permits. As it was deemed expedient, however, soon after the act was obtained, to ascertain the cost, in either contingency, upon the adoption by the Commissioners of a plan, before soliciting the necessary subscriptions; a General Chairman and the fifteen subcommittees were appointed to collect the same, which were to be paid over to the Treasurer of the Society; and they were instructed not to proceed until such plan was approved and estimates obtained.

For myself, as such General Chairman, I assert, and with a full conviction of the correctness of the assertion, that, had the subscription-committees been permitted during the year 1864 to proceed with the discharge of the duties assigned them, such was the prosperity at that period existing in this city, notwithstanding the war then raging, that the adequate sum could have been collected, and the building commenced.

But, now that the grant of the land is obtained, in anticipation of the action of committees, who, it is to be hoped, will soon be in a position to enter upon the discharge of their important duties, by the early action of the Commissioners, I have selected the subject, to which I now invite your further attention, as one in connection therewith, and also as one of the greatest importance to the future operations and usefulness of this Society. This enables me practically to present to you and the friends of this institution the results of similar efforts in times anterior to as well as during the present age, in order to stimulate the liberality of those who are interested in these departments of science, literature and the arts, to secure the benefits which are thus to be placed within the reach of the public at large.

No one will question the desirableness of establishing in every community depositories of the treasures of literature, science and the arts, and more especially in concentrating these in a city like ours, which is the commercial emporium of the New World. With the degree of culture which the members of an association like this are presumed to possess, they cannot but be deeply impressed with the necessity of establishing such depositories for the intellectual and social improvement of the people.

But in this, as in all subjects, there are special aspects, which present themselves only after diligent

search and investigation, and which are yet too important to be overlooked.

By libraries, in this address, are to be understood depositories of literature, science and art ; in short, of all the products of intellect and imagination which can be brought together for the pleasure and instruction of man. In designating the intended building to be erected in the Central Park as "THE HISTORICAL MUSEUM," I but follow the authority of the best lexicographers, who define a museum as a repository of natural, scientific and literary curiosities : a place for the muses or for study ; and this description is the same as that comprehended in the Greek word from which it is derived. In considering the relation of these to *social progress*, the most satisfactory method, and the one most in harmony with the character of this Society, is undoubtedly the *historical method*. This, then, is the method which, in the treatment of this subject, I shall adopt.

It would be impracticable for me, on this occasion, to enter upon the details connected with American libraries, nor, indeed, is it necessary ; for these have been to a great degree investigated in the several able works published on this subject.

In these publications the reading public will find full and satisfactory details given in a clear and explanatory manner. The increasing number of these libraries furnish facts full of interest to us, and to the generations to succeed us, and bear testimony to the



beneficial results which cannot fail to flow from this widely-spreading stream, which is to bless with its presence every portion of our country.

As to our own collections in this Library in which we are assembled, rich in all the materials of American history, and so often described and so highly appreciated by students of history, it would on this occasion be a work of supererogation for me to attempt to speak in a manner corresponding with their value and importance. Books, manuscripts, maps and charts, as well as the treasures of antiquity, of science and of art, in each and all the departments of our varied collections, the gradual accumulations of historic wealth, have been and are pouring in on us, and furnish demonstrative proof of the incapacity of this edifice for their proper reception and arrangement.

In less than the lapse of a decade the present building, which, at its dedication, was deemed ample for its design, is furnishing evidence of the necessity of the new structure which it is our intention to erect in the Central Park, and which the present and prospective growth of this association imperatively calls for.

This hall and the galleries above will be required for the purposes to which they are now applied, with the exception of the antiquities, the Audubon drawings and collection of paintings, which can be much more appropriately arranged in the Historical Museum when that is made ready for their reception. Here is the proper place to keep the books, manu-

scripts and charts which relate to American history, and those especially which relate to our city and State. To the student in this field of historical research, these latter collections furnish what is descriptively known as a "*Working Library*." The museum, in its amplitude, will embrace a wider and more extensive field, which requires in comparison accommodations on a *colossal scale*.

The spirit of the age commands us to *march forward*. Advance *we must!* we *cannot* remain *still!* That is stagnation—and stagnation is death. Let us bear in mind the motto of our great State—"Excel-  
"sior." To keep pace with this onward march we must rise *higher* and for *loftier* ends.

This city is exposed to the vices of the great cities abroad which immigration introduces. To counteract the evils, which irreligion, folly and wickedness have thus transplanted, it becomes our duty to control their effects, and then eradicate them, by being prepared to stem this flood and make it subservient to the purposes which minister to social progress. These combined results of such paramount influence and interest in their wide and beneficial operation have led me to select the subject which I am now to submit for your special consideration, in the hope that it will not only greatly promote the future welfare of our Society, but have a benign effect upon the present generation and upon the generations to succeed it.

The fact of social progress carried on by inevitable laws, and constituting God's plan in history, may be said to be a modern discovery. It is even now very imperfectly understood. Vico<sup>13</sup> was the first who attempted to elaborate a science of this progress, and has left some most valuable materials for those who succeed him in the same field. Fichte,<sup>14</sup> Schelling<sup>15</sup> and Hegel,<sup>16</sup> have constructed stupendous systems of thought, which are likely to have little permanent influence upon speculations on this subject. The most masterly attempt, so far, and that which is at present most influential, is the materialistic system of August Comte.<sup>17</sup> While we may not accept the theories of any of these profound thinkers as to the laws by which social progress is governed, they clearly establish the fact of such progress, and show that it comes within the domain of fixed and definite law. The thought of our time is still striving to give scientific precision to this fact, which is obscurely hinted at even by the ancient poets, who sang of the progress of the world to a returning golden age. Tennyson has given expression to this in those remarkable lines :

“ I doubt not through the ages an increasing purpose runs,

“ And the thoughts of men are widened in the process of the suns.”

Without attempting to analyze the admitted facts of this progress, it is only necessary to apprehend some of the more prominent forces, by which it is impelled, in order to see the relation to them of Litera-

ture, Science and Art. The most prominent of these forces are: 1st. The intellectual and moral impulse given to the world by works of genius; 2d. The movement of *scientific discovery* resulting from the accumulation of *scientific facts*; 3d. The regulating and elevating influence of *Divine Revelation*. These are the principal forces by which social progress is carried on. The point which we are to consider, is the bearing upon these forces of the accumulation, in society, of literary, scientific, moral and religious influences, as contained especially in books.

These forces have necessarily been present whenever there has been any development of civilization; and whenever there has been any such development, we find also the accumulation of such intellectual treasures as were accessible. I shall in the first place endeavor to give prominence to this fact, by briefly tracing the parallel histories of Libraries and Civilization.

Perhaps the most ancient library of which we have any notice, is found in connection with one of the most ancient civilizations of the world. Ofymandyas, one of the early kings of Egypt, made a collection of books in a room in his palace. Over the entrance was inscribed: ΨΥΧΗΣ ΊΑΤΡΕΙΟΝ—"The Dispensary of the "Soul." Such is the account given by Diodorus.<sup>18</sup> Wilkinson<sup>19</sup> and Champollion<sup>20</sup> both agree that the palace referred to by Diodorus still remains in the ruins known as the "Memnonium," or "Ramesium."

Among the Hebrews, two of the great forces of civilization were constantly present and active: works of genius and a divine revelation. These were brought into contact at all times with the life of the nation, by the reading of the Sacred Books in the hearing of the people. The collection of these books formed, of course, the national library of the Jews. But they had also collections of other books, especially those relating to the history of the nation. Judas Maccabeus<sup>21</sup> caused extracts to be made from those contained in the library of Nehemiah; and the reason for the making of these extracts is expressly said to be the multitude of books. One of the towns taken by the Israelites in their conquest of Canaan was Kirjath-sepher; or, as the words mean, "City of Books." The Targum calls the place Kirjath-arche, or the "City of Archives." This is undoubtedly the same alluded to afterwards as Kirjath-sanah,<sup>22</sup> which, in Arabic and Phœnician, means "City of Law." Joshua called the town Debir,<sup>23</sup> meaning a word or oracle. It is not very creditable to our modern civilization that there is now no city whose literary treasures are so conspicuous as to entitle it to the name of the *City of Letters*, or the *City of Books*. The effect of this literature, especially the sacred part of it, was to develop an intensely strong national and monotheistic feeling among the Jews; and it is this peculiar development of their civilization which has made them so influential an element in the history of the world.

Recent discoveries are rendering more clear and precise the shadowy outlines of the stupendous monarchies of the Babylonian, Assyrian and Chaldean kings. Certain it is that in the remote period in which they existed, they occupied almost the entire field of history. As might be expected, therefore, we find traces of enormous collections of records or books. In the palace of Nineveh a royal library, consisting of clay-tablets, has been found. About twenty thousand of these have been placed in the British Museum. M. Jules Oppert believes these to have been prepared by command of Sardanapalus V. (about B. C. 650). He quotes this inscription: "Palace of Sardanapalus, king of the world; king of Assyria, to whom the god Nebo and the goddess Ourmit have given ears to hear and eyes to see what is the foundation of Government. They have revealed to the kings, my predecessors, this cuneiform writing. The manifestation of the god Nebo—of the god of supreme intellect—I have written it up on tablets—I have signed it—I have put it in order—I have placed it in the midst of my palace for the instruction of my subjects."<sup>24</sup>

No nation has exercised a more powerful influence upon the intellectual progress of the world than the Greek; and there are most conclusive indications that the intellectual treasures of that people were preserved from age to age with the greatest care. Of the indebtedness of Homer to the rich stores of knowledge

which before his time had been accumulated, I shall have, in another connection, occasion to speak. It is stated on the authority of Aulus Gellius that Pisistratus, the tyrant, established a public library in Athens, in which he deposited, after great difficulty and expense in securing them, the works of Homer. It is stated, however, by Strabo that Aristotle was the first to establish a library, and that he suggested to the Ptolemies the formation of the renowned collection at Alexandria. According to this account, Aristotle bequeathed his library to Theophrastus, and Theophrastus to Neleus. By him it was concealed from the kings of Pergamus in a cave, and after various vicissitudes was taken by Sylla and carried to Rome.<sup>25</sup>

There is another account, however, which renders it probable that a part of this library, and perhaps the most valuable portion of it, was long before bought by Ptolemy Philadelphus and transferred to Alexandria.<sup>26</sup>

It is through this wonderful collection at Alexandria, chiefly, that the products of the Greek mind have entered into the civilization of the modern world. This splendid library is said to have been founded about B. C. 290, by Ptolemy Soter.<sup>27</sup> It was greatly increased by Ptolemy Philadelphus and Ptolemy Euergetes. Its treasures were first deposited in a quarter of the city called Bruchion, where there were at last collected about four hundred thousand volumes. After that, all additions were

placed in the temple of Serapis, and the number of volumes here finally reached three hundred thousand. In the first Alexandrian war the part in the Bruchion was accidentally destroyed by fire.

The library in the temple of Serapis, however, remained, and subsequently received the addition of the Permagean library, consisting of two hundred thousand volumes, presented by Mark Antony to Cleopatra.

It was finally destroyed by the Saracens, under the order of the Caliph Omar, in 642 of the Christian era.

It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the indebtedness of the world to this library of Alexandria. It was the great storehouse of learning for nearly a thousand years. It bore upon its shelves all the marvelous intellectual wealth of Greece. The MSS. of Grecian literature, now deposited in the libraries of Europe, and from which our editions of the Grecian classics are derived, are to be traced, for the most part, through a greater or less number of transcriptions, to their authors, through the library of Alexandria. Its powerful influence was constantly felt in the Roman republic and empire, to which it imparted the products of the Greek mind. We hear to-day, in the Roman civilization, the voice of literature and science and art, as well as the clash of arms, because the library of Alexandria existed. For more than nine centuries, Alexandria was the venerable mother of the intellectual world.



A taste for letters having been developed among the *Romans*, chiefly through the influence of the Alexandrian library, we should expect them soon to have libraries of their own. But although there were some private libraries, there seems to have been no public one, until the time of Julius Cæsar. That extraordinary man, so wonderfully in advance of his age, saw clearly the necessity of intellectual culture in the new social and political system which he was about to inaugurate. He committed to Varro the task of collecting a Roman library on a magnificent scale. This noble design was partially frustrated by the assassination of Cæsar; but there are indications that the work was, at least, commenced by Varro. The undertaking thus conceived by Julius Cæsar was reserved for Augustus to complete.

The elder Pliny ascribes the honor of the suggestion of public libraries under the Empire to Asinius Pollio, who established one on the Aventine Hill. Augustus erected two public libraries—the Octavian and the Palatine. Tiberius and Vespasian each founded a library, and Domitian restored, as far as possible, the libraries which had been destroyed in the reign of Nero. The most splendid library, however, in Rome was that founded by the Emperor Ulpian Trajanus, and called the Ulpian library. It was erected in Trajan's forum; but its treasures were afterwards removed to the Baths of Diocletian, the ruins of which still form one of the great attractions in the imperial city.

These magnificent collections, in which the wealth of Greek and Roman literature was mingled, were destroyed by fire, or smitten by lightning; and after upholding and adorning the mighty civilization which had overspread the world, were scattered by the Barbarians, who trampled the Empire itself into the dust. The few fragments which floated over the universal chaos into which society was resolved, found their way at last into the secluded retreats of monasteries, and, under the protection of the Church, waited for the revival of learning, when they entered with living power into the vast developments of modern civilization.

It has been a question whether literature is really indebted to monastic institutions, and whether the monks were not in truth its worst enemies. The manner in which this discussion has been carried on seems to proceed upon the supposition that all monastic institutions must have pursued the same policy, and all monks been animated by the same spirit. The fact evidently is, that there was a vast difference among them. In some monasteries there was a systematic destruction of the choicest treasures of antiquity, while in others they were preserved with the most religious care. But the point which it is important for us to consider is, that in those cases in which this care was exercised, the incalculable benefit was conferred upon the world of the preservation of classic literature. All monastic institutions, it must be also remembered,

were interested in the transcription and preservation of the Scriptures and the writings of the Christian Fathers.

At the same time, the continuance of the Eastern Empire until the fifteenth century secured the protection of Greek learning. For many years before the fall of Constantinople and the overthrow of the Eastern Empire, learned men left the East, with their rich stores of classic lore, and emigrated to southern and western Europe. There they became the patrons of learning—reviving the taste for Greek literature, which had become almost extinct; gaining access themselves (many of them for the first time) to the products of the Latin mind; encouraging the collection and transcription of manuscripts, and contributing powerfully to the great revival of Letters which speedily followed.<sup>28</sup>

The Monastery of Monte-Cassino, which still exists, with its noble patrimony, in southern Italy (excepted, as a homage to its venerable history, from the operation of the act of the Government of Victor Emanuel, which is leading to the extinction of monasteries), is one of the most conspicuous examples of the services rendered to learning by these institutions. From this ancient and renowned seat of learning originated similar communities, which spread themselves over Europe, and especially in the British Isles. Among these latter were the monasteries of Yarrow, Wearmouth, Bury St. Edmunds, Croyland, Whitby,

Reading, and St. Albans—in all of which books were most carefully preserved and transcribed.<sup>29</sup>

The discovery of printing opened a new era in the history of libraries and their connection with social progress. Books became excessively multiplied, and as they were thus brought in contact with a greater number of minds, the consequence was an immense increase in the number of authors. Modern libraries are, therefore, immeasurably more extensive than those of antiquity or the Middle Ages. The number of volumes may not indeed be so much greater; but that arises from the fact that a printed volume contains vastly more than a volume or roll of MS.

As we have in all previous history found the growth of libraries always in the line of advancing civilization, so in our own day we find them present and steadily increasing at all the great centres of influence and power.

Italy, which has for more than two thousand years played so prominent a part in history, is peculiarly rich in libraries. They are, however, greatly deficient in modern works, except such as relate to the theology of the Roman Catholic Church. I can only allude to some of the more prominent among them. In Rome there are several remarkable libraries besides the Vatican. The Barberini Collection has about 40,000 printed volumes and 7,000 MSS. The Casanata Library, named from its donor, Cardinal Casanate, is in the Dominican Convent in the Piazza della Mi-

nerva, and has more than 200,000 volumes. The Angelica Library contains more than 84,000 volumes and about 4,000 MSS. The Alexandrine Library contains about 80,000 volumes and 3,000 MSS. The Corfini Library has about 60,000 volumes, 3,000 MSS., and 60,000 engravings. The Franciscan Library has between 40,000 and 50,000 volumes. The Lancifiana Library has from 30,000 to 40,000. The Library of the Roman College is ſaid to contain 70,000 volumes. The Library of the Oratory is chiefly remarkable for its MSS.

The Ambrosian Library at Milan, which was founded by Cardinal Federigo Borromeo, nephew of St. Charles Borromeo, poſſeſſes about 80,000 printed volumes and 5,500 MSS. The Brera Library contains about 125,000 volumes and 1,000 MSS.

The Library of Bologna is eſpecially rich in Oriental MSS. There are 550 of Arabic alone. It contains about 105,000 volumes and 6,000 MSS. The celebrated Mezzofanti was for a long time its librarian.

The principal libraries in Florence are the Laurentian, the Magliabechiana, the Marucelliana, the Riccardiana, and the Library of the Belle Arti. The Mediceo Laurentian, which was founded by Coſmo de Medici, is a ſplendid collection of MSS., of which there are about 7,000, and of theſe many are of great rarity and value. Magliabechi, from whom the Magliabechiana is named, was a ſervant to a dealer in

vegetables, but raised himself to the honorable position of librarian to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. It contains about 140,000 printed books and 10,000 MSS. The Marucelliana contains 33,435 volumes and 1,375 MSS. The Ricardiana has about 11,000 volumes.

There are four public libraries in Naples. The Royal Library contains about 200,000 volumes and 4,000 MSS. The University possesses 25,000. The Convent of St. Philip Neri has about 18,000. The Brancacciana contains 76,000 volumes and about 1,000 MSS.

The libraries of Germany are of great extent and immense value. It is impossible at this time to do more than to glance at some of the most extensive and useful.

The Imperial Library of Vienna was founded in 1440, by the Emperor Frederic III. It consists of more than 365,000 volumes and 20,000 MSS. The University Library of Vienna ranks next to the Imperial Library. In 1848 it contained more than 120,000. The Royal Library of Munich is the largest in Germany, containing between 400,000 and 500,000 volumes and 22,000 MSS. The King of Saxony's Public Library at Dresden contains 305,000 volumes and 2,800 MSS. The Library of Göttingen contains 360,000 volumes and 3,000 MSS. The Royal Library at Berlin contains nearly 500,000 volumes and 10,000 MSS.

France is very liberally supplied with libraries. Among the most considerable of the provincial libraries are those of Strasburg with 180,000 books, Lyons with 120,000, Rouen with 110,000, Troyes with 100,000, Aix 95,000, Grenoble and Befançon each about 80,000, Avignon with 60,000, Versailles with 56,000, Amiens with 53,000, Marseilles with 57,000, Toulouse, Dijon and Nîmes each about 50,000, Nantes with 45,000, Caen with 40,000, Arras, Douay, Chaumont, Colmar, Cambay, Orleans, Rheims, Soissons, Nancy, Beaune and Montpellier each from 30,000 to 35,000. Those of the capital, besides the Bibliothèque Impériale, are the Mazarine with 132,000 books and 3,000 MSS., the Library of the Arsenal with 202,000 books and 6,000 MSS., the Library of St. Geneviève with 180,000 books and 3,500 MSS., the City Library with 55,000 volumes, the Library of the Luxembourg with 40,000 volumes, the Library of the Sorbonne with 40,000 volumes and 1,000 MSS., and the Library of the Institute with about 80,000 volumes.

But the most splendid library in France, and in the world, is the Bibliothèque Impériale, in Paris. It was founded by King John, who possessed only from ten to twenty volumes, but was increased to 900 by Charles V. The collection was afterwards scattered and lost. Louis XI., in the latter part of the fifteenth century, laid again the foundation of this library. Great additions were made by Francis I. Subsequent



monarchs enriched the collection, and scholars added to it their private stores. At the close of the seventeenth century it numbered 50,000 printed books and 15,000 MSS. In 1784 it had increased to nearly 200,000 volumes. This increase was checked for a time by the Revolution; but, in 1797, an addition of 500 MSS. from the Vatican was made, including the ineffable Codex Vaticanus. In 1858 the library had increased to the prodigious number of 860,000 printed volumes, 86,000 volumes of MSS., 300,000 charts and deeds, 1,390,000 prints, and a most perfect collection of maps, charts, &c. It is accessible to all, and is frequented daily by from 300 to 400 readers. It is the glory of France to have accumulated the largest and most valuable library in the world.

In the British Isles there are many libraries of very great value, of which a brief notice will be given.

The Library of the Royal Society was founded in 1667, by the noble gift which John Evelyn induced Henry Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, to make to the Society. It contains about 41,000 volumes, and is peculiarly rich in works upon mathematics and the physical sciences.

Nearly all the cathedrals of England have libraries of greater or less value, of which that of Durham, enriched by the benefactions of Dean Sudbury and Bishop Cofin, is perhaps the most important. The library founded by Archbishop Bancroft, in the reign of James I., and which was placed, until recently, in



Lambeth Palace, now occupies a noble hall built by Archbishop Juxon. This library contains about 25,000 MSS., which are divided into seven sets, distinguished as Codices, Lambethiani, Whartoniani, Carewani, Tenisoniani, Gibsoniani, Miscellanei and Suttonniani.

The Bodleian Library was founded by Sir Thomas Bodley in the reign of Elizabeth. It has been increased by numerous and princely benefactions, especially by Sir Robert Cotton; Sir Henry Seville; Archbishop Laud; John Selden; Sir Kenelm Digby; Thomas, Lord Fairfax; Dr. Thomas Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln; Richard Gough; Francis Douce, and Robert Mason. It is estimated to contain upwards of 256,000 volumes of printed books, and about 22,000 volumes MSS. It is particularly rich in Oriental MSS.

The British Museum, which takes the precedence of all libraries in the British Empire, may be said to have been formed by the union of four libraries: the Royal, the Cottonian, the Harleian and the Sloanian. The Royal Library dates back to the time of Henry VII. It was increased by the collections of Cranmer and Casaubon. Edward VI. added to it the important MSS. of Martin Bucer. The rich collection of the MSS. belonging to the Earl of Arundel was also added. George II. conveyed the library to the British Museum. The Cottonian Library was founded by Sir Robert Bruce Cotton, who collected MSS.

illustrating the early history of England. His son, Sir Thomas Cotton, and his grandson, Sir John Cotton, added greatly to the collection. In 1700 this library became the property of the nation, by act of Parliament, and was opened for public use. The Sloanian Library was founded by Sir Hans Sloan. At his death he bequeathed it to the British nation, on condition that £20,000 be paid to his executors—a sum less than one fourth of the value of the collection. In 1753 Parliament came into possession of this noble library, and also of the Harleian MSS. The Cottonian Library was added, and the Montagu House purchased for their reception. In 1759 the Royal Library was added by George II. Since that time the additions to this splendid foundation have been enormous. The buildings alone, since 1823, have cost nearly £700,000, and the whole expenditure has been upwards of £1,100,000. The books occupy more than forty miles of shelves.

The libraries of Scotland, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Russia and Turkey are, in many instances, extensive and valuable, but it is impracticable, at present, to give any detailed notice of them.<sup>30</sup>

In reviewing these enormous collections of books and MSS. the reflection may occur to some minds that vastly the greater proportion of them are utterly useless, and that there is no adequate reason for their accumulation and preservation. But there could be

no greater mistake than such an estimate as this. No one can tell what value may finally come to be attached to that which is apparently the most insignificant book or MS. A very singular and interesting illustration of this is furnished by the history of libraries. This illustration is found in the fact of the preservation for several centuries in one of the libraries of Rome of the Report of Pontius Pilate of the crucifixion of our Saviour. That such was the fact there can be no reasonable doubt, from the following considerations: in the first place, Pilate was required by law to report all his official acts to the emperor, and that he did so in this particular case cannot be questioned. That this Report was deposited in the public archives, would be also unquestionable, even if no positive evidence existed that such was the case. Such a report would undoubtedly be deposited in the library of the house of Tiberius, which was in existence, with that of Trajan, in the Baths of Diocletian, early in the fourth century, as we learn from the incidental testimony of Vopiscus. The only great fires by which these records could have been endangered were in the reigns of Nero and Titus. But after these fires it is certain, from the testimony of Suetonius, that the Commentaries and Acts of Tiberius Cæsar existed. From that time no cause likely to have occasioned their destruction is known to have occurred until the incursions of the Barbarians. These records were open to public examination, and

were appealed to by the early Christians as furnishing the evidence of the truth of their statements as to the circumstances of the crucifixion of CHRIST. At the very time when we know that the Acts of Tiberius were in existence, and when beyond a question the reports sent to him from the governors of the provinces were in existence also, we find this statement in the first Apology of Justin Martyr presented to Antoninus Pius and the senate of Rome about the year A. D. 140. "That these things" (referring to the crucifixion) "were so done, you may know from the Acts made in the time of Pontius Pilate."<sup>31</sup> Afterwards, having mentioned some of our Lord's miracles, he adds, "and that these things were done by Him, you may know from the Acts made in the time of Pontius Pilate."<sup>32</sup> Tertullian, in his Apology, about the year A. D. 200, appeals also to these records as existing and well known in his time. "Of all these things," he says, "relating to Christ, Pilate, in his conscience a Christian, sent an account to Tiberius, then emperor."<sup>33</sup> In another place, speaking of the darkness of the sky at the crucifixion, he says, "you have in your archives the relation of that phenomenon!"<sup>34</sup>

In the sixteenth chapter of "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," Gibbon questions the testimony of Tertullian as to this Report of Pontius Pilate. His language is—"We are required to believe that Pontius Pilate informed the emperor of

“the unjust sentence of death which he had pronounced against an innocent, and, as it appeared, a divine Person, and that without acquiring the merit he exposed himself to the claims of martyrdom.” The simple point to be established is this, that such a report from Pontius Pilate was in existence in the Roman archives in the time of Tertullian, or about two hundred years after the birth of Christ. The first thing to be considered is the fact that the governors of the provinces reported their official acts to the government at Rome. This is evident from Pliny’s letters to Trajan, and from Philo’s statement that the Acts or Memoirs of Alexandria were sent to Caligula.<sup>35</sup> The circumstances of Pilate’s course were such as to render it more than ordinarily necessary that such a report should be made. His hesitation in passing sentence upon Jesus was most likely to give an occasion to the Jews of criticism and complaint. Some explanation would therefore be required from Pilate, who could give no better justification of his course than his estimate of the character of Jesus, the wonderful phenomena of the crucifixion, and the fact that he condemned him to be crucified, only because he was unable to resist the demands of the Jews. The circumstances of the case, therefore, would render it in the highest degree probable, independently of any other consideration, that a report on this subject was sent by Pilate to Tiberius.

When received, this report would, of course, be

deposited among the Commentaries and Acts of Tiberius. These documents, under the name of the Library of the House of Tiberius, seem, from the testimony of Suetonius, to have been first deposited in the Apollineum.<sup>36</sup> In the time of Aulus Gellius, a contemporary of Justin Martyr, they were in the Temple of Trajan.<sup>37</sup> Vopiscus, early in the fourth century, states that he made use of books from the Library of the House of Tiberius, which, in his time, was in the Baths of Diocletian.<sup>38</sup> It is certain, therefore, that the library in which this Report would really have been deposited, and of which it would form a part, was in existence in the time of Justin Martyr and of Tertullian, and until the fourth century.

The next point to be considered, is that the testimony of Justin Martyr and Tertullian is not to be discredited by the statements by which it is accompanied, or by the additions to the story which were subsequently made, or by the pretended acts of Pilate, which are extant at the present day. Tertullian states that Tiberius, on the receipt of the account of our Saviour's death, proposed to the Senate that he should be placed among the gods.<sup>39</sup> Whether this is true or not, it does not affect the credibility of the testimony under consideration. In the case of this statement as to the proposal of Tiberius, Tertullian may or may not be speaking of something within his own knowledge. In the case of the Report of Pilate, he speaks as if of his own knowledge of a then existing fact.

The account, as we have it in Justin Martyr and Tertullian, is amplified with the addition, doubtless, of some incorrect statements, by Eusebius,<sup>40</sup> Chrysostom,<sup>41</sup> Orosius,<sup>42</sup> Zonares,<sup>43</sup> and Nicephorus;<sup>44</sup> but these additions, even if incorrect, do not affect the credibility of the original witnesses; neither is their credibility affected, or the statements which they make rendered, in any degree, less probable by the various documents purporting to be "Acts of Pilate" which subsequently appeared. Some of these are now extant, having been collected by Fabricius and Tischendorf. The fact of these forgeries rather indicates the existence of a true original, upon the credit of which they obtained circulation.

But whatever opinion may be entertained as to the trustworthiness of Justin Martyr and Tertullian, it is to be remembered that each presented to the Roman Government a vindication of the Christian faith, and in this vindication asserts, as a fact, than which nothing could have been more easily disproved, if it were not true, that Pilate made a report of the crucifixion of Jesus to Tiberius, and that this report was in the archives of the State. It is incredible that such a statement would have been hazarded, under such circumstances, unless it had been known to be true.

It is a significant fact that Tacitus connects the name of Christ with that of Pontius Pilate.<sup>45</sup> This is referred to by Frederic von Schlegel, who receives the statement of Tertullian as true.<sup>46</sup>



Now, since Pontius Pilate must have made such a report to Tiberius, since the library in which it would most naturally have been deposited was in existence in the fourth century, since the Commentaries and Acts of Tiberius were in existence in the time of Domitian, in the latter part of the first century, and no cause adequate to their destruction is known to have occurred from that time until the inroads of the Barbarians, and since this report is appealed to by Justin Martyr about A. D. 140, and by Tertullian about A. D. 200, each in an address to the very persons in whose custody such a record, if there were one, would be kept, the fact of its existence is beyond reasonable dispute, and furnishes a most interesting and conclusive proof of the important services which the collection and preservation of public records have rendered to the world.

Works of genius have been referred to as constituting one of the great moving forces in human progress. A common idea in regard to genius is that it is an original power, to a great extent independent of the intellectual stores which have previously been accumulated. A moment's consideration of those great works of genius, which have commanded the admiration and elevated the character of the world, will satisfy us of the high degree in which they are dependent upon the whole previous intellectual development of the race.

If we go far back in the history of the world, to the



time when Homer sang his immortal Epic, in the early morning of Grecian poetry, philosophy and art, we shall find that the materials of this wonderful work are not newly created. They exist in the thought and life of the previous ages, and Homer has only transfused them with the vital power of his immortal genius, and thus made them a living energy for all coming time. Mr. Gladstone<sup>47</sup> has traced, with wonderful analytic power, the development, from the great primeval revelation, of the social, philosophical and religious systems of the Homeric age. The results of this development Homer must have had at his command; and the perfect familiarity with them, by which he was enabled to enter into the advancing thought of his age, was the condition upon which he obtained his overmastering influence and his immortal fame.

Take the case of Dante, whose *Divina Commedia* marks the resurrection-morning of Italian and, indeed, of European literature. There is no isolation on his part from the great past. On the contrary, it is only because he gathered it up in all its vast details into himself, that he has been able so marvelously to enrich the world. The very fact that Virgil appears as his guide through the invisible world, is a significant indication of the links which bind him to the realm of letters in the Roman and the Grecian ages; while the ecclesiastical learning, which is apparent on every page, and the whole metaphysical system of mediæval

philosophy, which he has condensed in his extraordinary poem, show that he followed the thread of thought from ancient down to modern times.

Turn your thoughts now to Shakespeare! Here you would expect, perhaps, to find almost an intellectual creation *ex nihilo*, an original force asserting itself in entire independence of previous thought. But an examination of his marvelous works, which have exercised such a stupendous influence upon the Anglo-Saxon mind, will show us the innumerable points at which they are linked in with the previous intellectual development of the world. At the touch of this magician, the history and the poetry, the philosophy and the art of classic ages reappear; the old traditions and mythologies of northern barbarians come forth from the darkness of their sepulchres, and the new philosophy, into which all previous growth had finally flowed, moves everywhere in the two-fold form of revealed religion and inductive science, determining the character and progress of the modern world. There is, it is true, a power of intuition in genius; but no intuition can make one familiar with the intellectual stores of the past, unless those stores are collected and explored. It is the intuition of genius which enables one to perceive what ideas, in all this vast accumulation, are living and eternal; and these ideas are wrought into new and captivating forms, in which, henceforth, they lead in the progress of mankind. It was only because the capacious mind

of Shakespeare became, to such an extent, the receptacle of universal knowledge, that he is, in so great a degree, a universal man.

Take but one more example, in the case of Goethe. Possessed of the most wonderful genius of any man since Shakespeare, he had attained, also, the widest culture. There is scarcely any field of literature, science or art which he had not explored. His works are an epitome of German, and, indeed, of all philosophy. The principles of all previous criticism are analyzed and reduced to a system and science. The controlling ideas of the age have clearer expression given to them, and enter upon a new era of influence in society. The materials which he has wrought into his marvelous creations were scattered everywhere throughout all history, and in every department of thought. He finds them in the majestic intellectual repose of Egypt and the East; in the multitudinous activity of the Grecian mind; in the Roman poetry, oratory, ethics and statemanship; in the dreamy speculations of the middle ages; and in the vast continents of mental wealth which modern research has discovered and explored. The rich accumulations of the past enabled him to give a new impulse to the future. There is thus evident a most intimate relation between the accumulation of literary stores in libraries, the development of genius, and the providing of it with the instruments of its mighty influence.

There is danger, however, that we shall not have any adequate idea of the importance of collecting and preserving books, apparently the most worthless, as well as those which have vindicated their claim to be regarded as standard works. We may admit that the works of the great poets, philosophers and statesmen of the world should be preserved in all our libraries, but we may not unreasonably inquire of what possible use it can be to perpetuate the existence of that which is evidently utterly unworthy to exist? In reply to this inquiry it may be said, that, without taking into account the fact that we may be mistaken in our estimate, and that which we pronounce worthless, the future may find to be of unspeakable value; I say, without taking this into account, the very worthlessness of such productions may be a fact, which it will be at some time, most important to know. In estimating the effects of various systems, social, political or intellectual, upon the mind or character, the discovery of some obscure pamphlet, written under certain influences which may be under consideration, will oftentimes prove a very important witness, and throw unexpected light upon the question involved. Every reflecting reader of Buckle, who has made, perhaps, the most elaborate attempt to treat the History of Civilization inductively,<sup>48</sup> must have noticed how constantly he appeals to evidence furnished by what is usually considered the mere rubbish of our great libraries. Upon this evidence, thus collected from the

most obscure sources, the character of epochs is in a great measure determined, and the foundations of social systems laid. If his conclusions are not always logically drawn, or his theories sound, he has still incidentally established the value, at least in his department of philosophical history, of every product of thought in every age. Their importance in the department especially of physical science, we shall see as we proceed.

The inductive method of investigation has disclosed the true secret of the progress of the physical sciences. Two things are absolutely requisite in this progress—facts and ideas. According to the conception prevalent down to the time of Lord Bacon, the observation of facts was deemed of but little consequence, and even unworthy of a philosopher. The discovery of natural laws was to be attained by an effort of the mind, occupied alone with the ideas and principles of nature. As an inevitable consequence, science was sterile, and no increase was realized. If discoveries were made at all, they were the results of a happy accident. But just so soon as the true method of investigation came to be clearly understood, the progress of science became wonderfully rapid, and has at last culminated in the brilliant and beneficent discoveries of the present age. It is to be remembered, also, that there must be the observation of facts, not only in order that scientific theories may be suggested to the mind, but that they may also be verified. It

is in the constant observation of phenomena that the true progress of science is to be found. The more extensive the induction of facts, the wider its sweep, and the more comprehensive its details in relation to any subject, the more probable is the attainment of satisfactory results. Every new observation is therefore so much added to the treasury of science, and the scientific achievements of to-day rest upon innumerable observations of nature in the past. It is impossible, therefore, to exaggerate the importance of preserving all the records of observations which at any time have been made in the realm of nature. If they are not needed now, they may be needed, and no one can tell how greatly, in the future. The time may come, and is most likely to come, when some earnest seeker after truth will find in an obscure work, in one of our great libraries, some recorded observation of phenomena that will reveal to him the secret of a natural law which it is of the highest importance for society to understand. Take any of the great discoveries of the laws of nature which have been made. They are not due chiefly to the genius of those who made them. The accumulation of facts, which had become the possession of society, rendered the discoveries of Kepler and Newton inevitable, and *they* became the discoverers only because they were able to interpret these facts more quickly than others. If the knowledge of facts is within reach, there will always be men who will penetrate to the laws which control

them. Nothing then can conduce more greatly to the progress of science, and therefore to the material welfare of society, than the accumulation and preservation of books which contain the records of observed phenomena.

Every department of science furnishes abundant illustrations of this; but perhaps it is nowhere more beautifully illustrated than in the history of discoveries in optics. As we trace this wonderful course of steadily-progressing discovery up to the most brilliant and startling results, we see how each step rests upon the whole previous accumulation of observed facts.

Notwithstanding the aversion of ancient philosophy to the inductive method, Ptolemy had made observations upon the angles of the refraction and incidence of light. These observations were carefully considered, and in certain points corrected, by the Arabian mathematician Alhazen. He also gives directions for making experimental measures of refraction. These observations and hints as to experiments led Vitello, who lived in the thirteenth century, to those investigations which are to be found in his work on optics; but still the true law of refraction was not discovered. Kepler wrote a supplement to Vitello, and attempted to reduce his observations to a law, but while making progress in the right direction, reached only an approximately correct result. From this point, however, Willebrod Snell conducted his investigations



until he discovered the law, as it is called, of the fines. This led to the discovery of the true explanation of the rainbow by Descartes. These observations and results further led to the discovery of the law of dispersion by refraction, and so to the wonderful discovery, by Sir Isaac Newton, of the unequal refrangibility of different rays of light. The discussion of the Newtonian theories, by Sir David Brewster and the celebrated Goethe,<sup>49</sup> laid the foundations of those wonderful results which have been reached by more modern laborers in the same field—Young and Fresnel and Biot and Faraday and Wollaston and Fraunhofer, not to mention many others in the same departments who have obtained honorable distinction. These results are to be seen in the brilliant discoveries in photography, which have added so much to the beauty and effectiveness of science and art in our day. They are to be seen also in the wonderful conclusions to which the ascertained fact of the polarization of light has led as to the ultimate constitution of matter. And more astonishing and startling than all, is the recent discovery of spectral analysis, which detects with unfailing accuracy the presence of the most minute substances, enables us to tell the elements of which suns and stars are composed, and to resolve the mighty nebulæ upon the far-off confines of creation!<sup>50</sup>

Now, all this progress has been due to the accumulation of facts in this one department of science.



Every recorded observation, even when made the basis of a false theory, has yet been a step in this onward march, and has contributed to the final result. But we are to remember that this is but one of the innumerable departments of science, and by no means the most fertile in practical and beneficial application. The same principle holds good in relation to all. The accumulation and preservation of observed facts and experiments alone insure that rapid development of science which is conferring such benefit and glory upon the present age. The extent to which our interests are affected by scientific investigation is incalculable. There is no avenue to wealth which is not within the domain of science. Whatever relates to navigation, to agriculture, to mining operations, to the various transactions of trade; all that belongs to social institutions and to civil government; whatever is involved in sanitary reform, the prevention and cure of disease, and the promotion of physical vigor; the whole scheme of charitable efforts for the amelioration of the evils of pauperism and the social and moral elevation of mankind; all these, in all their vast extent and relations, are dependent upon the progress of science, and are directly promoted in their efficiency and excellence by the collection and preservation of recorded facts in all the departments to which they relate.

Having thus considered the influence of works of genius and of scientific investigation in social prog-

refs, we have only to consider, in conclusion, the influence of moral and religious ideas, and the bearing upon them of collections of intellectual wealth in libraries. This will require only a brief consideration.

Moral and religious ideas constitute the permanent and stationary influences in social progress, just as scientific discoveries constitute the progressive. It is not true, however, that morals and religion are not also in a very high sense progressive. The difference is this—science depends entirely upon discovery, whereas discovery is a very inferior element in morals and religion. Moral and religious ideas proceed from intuition and revelation. They are more clearly apprehended from one generation to another; but still the elements out of which moral and religious systems are formed are always present in the intuitive operations of the mind, and in the revelation which we have from God. But while this is so, there is need of constant influences in society to lead men to the recognition and acceptance of these moral and religious principles. These influences are of various kinds, but not the least powerful among them is the effect, in a community, of a library on a large and liberal scale, comprising the intellectual wealth of all generations. The moral and religious influence exerted by such a library is manifold. It substitutes a salutary pleasure for gross and vicious indulgences, and confers a moral benefit by proposing intellectual instead of sensual gratification. Scarcely anything is

more calculated to confer pleasure, and at the same time to elevate the soul, than familiarity with the works of the great writers of the world.

If a community can be educated into a taste for literary culture and the beautiful productions of art, and the halls of a great metropolitan library be thrown open to the young, a powerful influence will be exercised to restrain dissipation and to raise the tone of public thought and feeling.

Moral and religious impressions in a community are exceedingly dependent upon the influence of books, and the cultivation of a taste for the fine arts. Books bring to bear upon us the example of the great and good. The record of their virtues, achievements and sacrifices, in all ages, impresses the imagination, excites emulation and rouses action.

But, besides these general impressions and influences, the literature of the world is full of positive testimonies to the power and renovating effect of Christianity upon man and the social state. No one can attentively study the history of the Christian centuries without discerning a force in human affairs, which is wielded by no human arm, which is the product of no mere natural laws, but which is divinely originated and divinely directed for the highest welfare of mankind. Most certain is it, to the historical student, that the progress of the race is inevitably towards the adoption and universal application of the great fundamental Christian ideas. The clearer, however, is the

understanding of this in the world, the more rapidly will this progress be accomplished. Whatever, therefore, illustrates the history and influence of Christianity—whatever serves as a bulwark to the evidences of Christian faith—whatever elevates and spiritualizes the tone of thought and feeling, exercises a most salutary effect upon the moral and religious character of the community.

Now it is amazing to what extent Christian ideas pervade the literature of the Christian world! No one would imagine it, had it not been made a special subject of inquiry. To such a degree is this true, that it has been asserted, and without doubt on good foundation, that if the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were destroyed, they could be replaced from the writings of the first four centuries of the Christian era. And not only is this so, but history, poetry and art are full to repletion of Christian sentiments and ideas; so that it is scarcely possible to come in contact anywhere with modern thought and investigation without finding ourselves in the presence of the great verities of the Christian faith.

It is not easy, therefore, to exaggerate the influence of libraries in contributing to that force in social progress, which proceeds from the moral and religious ideas, which are based upon a divine revelation. If, therefore, we would strengthen the influences of these ideas in all their manifold applications to the duties of honesty, integrity and benevolence, of loyalty to

government and law, and of universal brotherhood we shall do well to bring that intellectual wealth which survives the destroying influence of time, because it has truth in it, to bear, in large measure, upon the thought and feeling of our age.

I have thus presented the various departments of the subject which has been under consideration. We have seen the history of libraries running parallel with the history of civilization. We have seen their influence upon the great moving forces of social progress, works of genius, scientific discovery, and moral and religious ideas, as based upon a divine revelation.

The legislative action, previously referred to, gives a practical importance to these considerations which it is not easy to exaggerate. The proposition is before us to avail ourselves of the liberal appropriation of land, &c., in the Central Park, which the Commissioners thereof have set apart, for the establishment of the Historical Museum of Antiquities and Science, and a Gallery of Art.<sup>51</sup> It is to be remembered that the chief object for which this Society was established is the collection of books and manuscripts relating to the history of the United States, and especially of the State of New York. In pursuance of this object, the archives of this Society, as has been stated, already contain rich collections of materials which throw light, not only upon our early social and political position and character, but also upon the history of some of the most ancient kingdoms heretofore alluded to, which existed

in ages long antecedent to the dawn of Christianity, and are interwoven with the general history of all subsequent times.

These collections are, year after year, illustrated and enriched by the disquisitions, investigations and contributions of the honorary, corresponding and resident members of this Society, and its friends and supporters at home and abroad. We have thus accumulated, and are constantly engaged in accumulating, treasures of inestimable value for the great historians of our own day, and for those by whom they are to be succeeded. All that has been said of the importance of libraries in general, to the literary and scientific culture of a nation, applies with equal force to the relation and importance of historical documents and books to the history of any people. And this concurrence of events favorable to the establishment on a large scale of a Historical Library and Museum of Science and Art summons us to the enjoyment of this great privilege, and the performance of this imperative duty.

But this library need not and should not be exclusively a Historical Library. It may, and should, in connection with this prominent idea, embrace all the departments of literature and science and arts indirectly, as well as directly, relating to its chief design, and be a centre and source of intellectual light for this city, State and nation.

The opportunity for us now to inaugurate a new

power in the social progress of the nation is one of the grandest that has ever been offered.

We shall be greatly wanting in duty, and insensible to the high privilege bestowed upon us, if we do not embrace it. The peculiar characteristics of the age and of our own position present claims upon us in this respect which have never before been so imperatively urged in the history of the world. This nation is governed not by force, but by ideas. The history of the last four years shows us the tremendous force and supremacy especially of moral ideas. The sphere of these ideas is to be widened, and they are to be impressed more and more deeply upon the public mind. And this can be done in no more effectual way than by establishing well-selected Libraries throughout the land. Our country, more than any other in the world, is dependent upon the virtue of the people; and their virtue is largely dependent upon their intelligence and education; and these depend upon the intellectual stimulus which they receive.

“The *sense of the people*, as we call it,” says Dr. Priestley, “though no nominal part of the constitution, is often felt to be a real check upon public measures, by whomsoever they are conducted; and, though it is only expressed by talking, writing and petitioning, yet tumult and insurrection so often arise, when the voice of the people is loud, that the most arbitrary governments dread the effects of them.” How



potent, then, is that "voice" when it is the utterance of the people themselves, who, in this country, are the governing power.

The city of New York is so situated as to exercise a vast influence upon the destinies of the nation. Its geographical position is such as to place the whole country under contribution. The cotton and rice of the South, the grain and cattle of the West, the products of New England farms, the oil and iron and coal of the Middle States, the mineral wealth, the silver and the gold upon those distant shores which are washed by the waves of the Pacific, find their way to this metropolis, and from this point, as a radiating centre, are poured forth to every portion of the world. It is impossible to deny that this fact bestows unbounded influence upon this great and rapidly expanding city. The traders and merchants and professional men who are called here on business or pleasure come in contact with the great ideas of the age, are imbued with them, and aid, wherever they go, in their diffusion. Whatever intellectual influences are dominant here—whatever system of thought prevails here—will exercise a stupendous power throughout the whole extent of our country.

It is a circumstance most worthy of our consideration that the future prosperity and glory of this city depend upon laws of nature, or, rather, upon nature's GOD. The parallel of latitude upon which we are situated is that which is, perhaps, more than any other,



favorable to the development of the agricultural wealth of the country. And, if we follow that parallel from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, we shall find that it wonderfully coincides with the great routes necessarily followed by commerce and travel. At the same time, this line of communication is accessible at almost every point from the extreme northern and southern portions of the country.

There is another remarkable fact in our position which confers an extraordinary advantage. This same parallel of latitude, while it is the most favorable, so far as the great interior is concerned, would be too far north were it not for a wonderful provision of nature, by which the heated waters of the Mexican Gulf flow in one mighty stream through the Atlantic Ocean, moderating the severity of the weather on our coast, and making it easily accessible in the most wintry storms. Thus these and other influential facts and circumstances, as by a decree of Heaven, seem to have marked out this spot as the central radiating point of commercial influence, of accumulative facilities of intercourse and combined controlling power, which cannot fail to make the port of New York the chief entrepot of this hemisphere, and the city itself the great distributive emporium for every portion of the New as well as of the principal marts of the Old World.

Now, when we reflect upon the probable future of this Republic, we shall see how vast is the responsibility

which is imposed upon us. We are just entering upon a new era in our history. A fierce and sanguinary struggle, through which we have just passed, and which would have prostrated any other nation, leaves us vastly stronger and more conscious of our strength than before. There are certain peculiarities in our case which, in the Providence of God, have secured this result. For the first time in the history of the world, a government is established whose theory it is to protect no interests and to seek no good but those of the people at large; and this government has for its sphere a vast territory, lying upon two oceans, and embracing every variety of climate and soil. A new and irresistible moral power has been added to this government by the sanction which it has given to universal freedom. God has provided everything here necessary to the grandest development. The sources of our wealth are inexhaustible. They press upon us in every valley, by every stream, on the mountains, through the pathless forests, in the sunless mines. The bracing airs of the temperate zone breath strength and vigor into the frame, and fit man for the task of subjecting to himself the power and riches of nature. The Old World is pouring its millions of population upon our shores, filling up our waste territories and furnishing the wonderfully varied materials which our institutions are to mould and fashion. A stupendous development here of power and grandeur, beyond anything that the world has ever seen, is certain.

Whether it shall be for good or evil depends upon the intelligence and virtue of the people. We might almost fancy the Genius of the Republic, with eye fixed upon the yet distant and uncertain, but swiftly coming future, declaring our possible glory, but warning us of our imminent peril. We may disregard her pleadings, as the deluded Trojans did those of the frenzied Cassandra. If that is so, nothing can be before us but ruin—all the more appalling because of the gigantic scale of the catastrophe. But if we heed her warnings, or, rather, if we listen to the voice of history, consult the oracles of philosophy,—above all, follow the path that is marked out for nations in Divine Revelation,—we shall be the means of conferring the most glorious blessings upon mankind, and reach the summit of human greatness and power.

How wonderfully appropriate to these United States, with their emblematic shield-bearer, and singularly prophetic of the future destiny of our Republic, are those eloquent words of Milton in regard to England: “Methinks I see in my mind a noble  
“and puissant nation, rousing herself like a strong  
“man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks;  
“methinks I see her as an EAGLE, mewing her mighty  
“youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full  
“mid-day beam; purging and unsealing her long-  
“abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly  
“radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and

“flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight,  
“flutter about, amazed at what she means.”

Taking these two thoughts, the vast influence of the city upon the intellectual and moral character of the nation, and the wonderful destiny which is before it, is there not imposed upon us a most solemn responsibility to make this city a source of intelligence and virtue for the whole land? And what can we in our sphere do towards accomplishing this result better than to lay the foundations of a Library, Museum of Antiquities and Science, and Gallery of Art, such as that which I am now advocating—a Library, Museum and Gallery for the whole people, such as is commensurate with our greatness and unrivaled prosperity, one which shall furnish every facility for the student in every department of his investigations, which shall rouse the public mind to noble impulses by the magic influence of genius, which shall stimulate scientific discovery, which shall add strength to all moral and religious institutions and ideas, which shall be a home for the poor, for whose elevation our very system of government is designed, where they who are shut out from so many of the refining effects of social intercourse may silently commune with the great intellects of all ages of the world.

The large-hearted and liberal-minded merchants, the men of wealth, literary, antiquarian and professional men, the men of science and the lovers of art, citizens of New York, and all wherefoever resident,

who are interested in the great work which this Society earnestly recommends to their patronage and liberality, could not well perform a grander act or attain a higher glory than by laying the foundation of such a metropolitan, or rather cosmopolitan LIBRARY, MUSEUM AND GALLERY, with all the appliances which such an institution can possibly enjoy. Those who shall accomplish it will need no other memorial. In the coming generations, should their monument be sought, the historian might point to the material prosperity, the boundless charity and moral greatness of this city and nation, so largely resulting from their far-reaching wisdom and liberality, and say, as was said of CHRISTOPHER WREN, amid the glories of St. Paul's Cathedral, "Si monumentum  
"quæris, circumspice."







## NOTES.



1. T. Liv. Hist. lib. xxxiii., c. 32.
2. Cicero in Ver., 7, n. 161 and 162.
3. Article "Flamininus," "Classical Dictionary," by Charles Anthon, LL. D.
4. The seeds referred to are of the mustard tree, known, commonly, among naturalists as the "Salvadora Perfica." In Syria it is called "khardal." See Dr. Royle's Paper, in the Athenæum of March 28, 1844, and the Gentleman's Magazine, June, 1844. Also, Plin. H. N., 1, 20, C. B. 7, and D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient., S. V. Escander.
5. "Table Talk" of S. T. Coleridge, Harper & Bro.'s Ed., under date of April 10, 1833.
6. The Life of M. Tullius Cicero, by Conyers Middleton. Vol. II., p. 186. London, 1823. The following is the verse referred to in the text :

Εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρηΐ, τυραννίδος πέρι  
Κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν, τᾶλλα δ' εὐσεβεῖν χρεῖον.

*Eurip. Phœnissæ, 524-5.*

"For if it behooves one to be unjust, it is most glorious to be unjust concerning empire, but in all other things it is right to be just."

See also Suet. Jul. 53, "Verbum M. Catonis est, unum ex omnibus Cæsarem ad evertendam republicam Sobrium accessisse."

7. Coleridge's "Table Talk," Harper & Bro.'s Ed., p. 53.
8. The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D. D. Appleton's Ed., pp. 160, 161.
9. See note by Dean Stanley, at foot of above, p. 161 of Arnold's Life, &c.
10. Coleridge's "Table Talk." Same edition, pp. 78, 79.
11. Diog. Lart., lib. vi., cap. 2, sec. 6.
12. The Poet's Pilgrimage, stanza lvii., Robert Southey, Poet Laureate. Lectures on History, &c., by Dr. Joseph Priestley, LL. D., F. R. S. London, 1826. On page 403 the author remarks that, "In modern times, though an end has been put to servitude in the Christian countries of Europe, it has been greatly extended in our Colonies, slaves being purchased in Africa and transported, in order to their

being employed in America. But both the injustice and the ill-policy of this system is now pretty generally acknowledged." Had not the Royal ear of England been deaf to the remonstrances of some of those Colonies, the civil war drawing to a close, which slavery occasioned, and which that war has abolished, had probably never occurred. "Man proposes, GOD disposes." By the Roman laws, slaves, as in our South, were considered not as *men*, but as *res*, the property of their masters; and the Romans, as Montesquieu observes, "being accustomed to trample upon mankind in the persons of their children and slaves, could know but very little of that virtue which we distinguish by the name of humanity." A chained slave for a porter was a common sight at Rome; and Vedius Pollio used to throw his slaves, who had disobeyed him, into his fish-ponds to be preyed upon by the mullets. The following observation, it has been well said, argues that increase of population was little encouraged by the Romans among their slaves. "It is an universal observation, which we may form upon language, that when two related parts of a *whole* bear any proportion to each other, in numbers, rank or consideration, there are always *co-relative terms* invented, which answer to both parts and express their mutual relation. If they bear no proportion to each other, the term is only invented for the less, and marks its distinction from the whole. Thus, *man* and *woman*, *master* and *servant*, *father* and *son*, *prince* and *subject*, *stranger* and *citizen*, are co-relative terms in all languages—indicating that each part signified by them bears a considerable proportion to one another, and are often compared together. But *verna*, the Latin name of a *slave born in the family*, has no co-relative."—Hume's Essays, xi., 1777, 1, 555. Ibid., pp. 407, 556.

There is an illustration of this curious observation of Hume in the XXVII. Ode of Horace, "Ad Sodales:"

"Quæte cunque domat Venus,  
Non erubescendis adurit  
Ignibus, ingenuoque semper  
Amore peccas."

Francis, in his edition of Horace, comments, in a note, upon the last words thus: "They who had an intrigue with a slave were branded with the name of *Ancillaroli*, as men of sordid and infamous passions—such passions as the poet here calls *erubescendi ignes*."

The South, cut off from the "slave trade" with Africa, encouraged home production, and this mode of adding to their slave population no doubt occasioned great demoralization, and helped to precipitate it into the late savage and disastrous rebellion.

13. Principi di Scienza-Nuova. G. B. Vico. Milano, 1831.

14. Die Bestimmung des Menschen, dargestellt von Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Erste



Aufgabe. Berlin Vofs'sche Buchhandlung, 1800. Zweite unveränderte Aufgabe Ebendafelbst, 1838.

15. Ueber die Gottheiten von Samothrace, vorgelesen in der "öffentlichen Sitzung der Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften am Namenstage des Königs der 12 Oct., 1815. Beylafe zu der Veltaltern von Fr. V. J. Schelling.

16. Georg. Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion, Nebst einer Schrift über die Beweise von Dasein Gottes, herausgegeben von Dr. Phillipp Marheineke, Erste Theil. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Berlin, 1840.

Georg. Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte herausgegeben von Dr. Edward Gans. Berlin, 1837.

17. Cours de Philosophie Positive par M. August Comte. Paris, Bachelier, Libraire Pour Les Mathematiques, 1830.

18. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1, c. 2.

19. Manners and Customs of Ancient Egyptians, vol. 1, pp. 111-116.

20. Lettres, 285, quoted by Kenrick, Ancient Egypt, vol. 1, p. 155.

21. Machab., lib. 11, c. 11, v. 13.

22. Judges xv., v. 15.

23. Ib., v. 49.

24. Rapport à le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique, in the Archives des Missions Scientifiques. Mai, 1856. Vol. v., p. 179.

25. Strabo, lib. xiii., pp. 608, 609.

26. Athenæus, Deipnosophistarum libri xv. lib. 1-4.

27. Joseph, Ant. Jud., lib. 1, c. 2.

28. Enc. Brit., Art Libraries.

29. This and the following statements in regard to modern libraries are derived, in great part, from the article on Libraries in the Encyclopædia Britannica.

30. Consult same article.

31. και ταυτα ὅτι γεγρονε, δυνασθε μαθειν εκ των επι Ποντις Πιλατς γενομενων ακτων. J. M. Ap. 1, p. 76, C. Paris, 1636. Num. 36, p. 65, Bened.

32. Ὅτι δε και ταυτα εποιησεν, εκ των επι Ποντις Πιλατς γενομενων ακ των μαθειν δυνασθε. Ib., p. 84, C. Paris. Num. 48, p. 72, Bened.

33. Ea omnia super Christo, Pilatus, et ipse jam pro sua conscientia Christianus, Caesari tunc Tiberio nuntiavit. Tertull. Ap., c. 21, p. 22, C.

34. Et tamen eum mundi casum relatum in arcanis vestris habetis. Ib., c. 21.

35. Philo de Leget; ad Caium, p. 1016, A.

36. Sueton., Tiber., c. 74, tom. 1, p. 324.

37. Aulus Gellius Hist. Alt., lib. xiii., c. 19.

38. Vopisci Hist. Aug. Scriptores, p. 233.

39. Apol., cap. 5, p. 6.
40. Euseb. H. E., l. 2, cap. 2.
41. Chrys. Hom. 26, in 2 Cor., t. x, p. 624, A.
42. P. Oros., l. 7, c. 4.
43. Zonar, Ann., t. 2, p. 176.
44. Niceph., l. 2, cap. 8.
45. Christus Tiberio imperatore, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erit.—Tacit., Ann. xv., 44.
46. Philosophy of History, Vol. I., p. 352.
47. Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age: by the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, D. C. L. Oxford, at the University Press, 1857.
48. History of Civilization in England: by Henry Thomas Buckle. 2 vols. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1858.
49. Zur Farbenlehre von Goethe, Tübingen, 1810.
50. History of the Inductive Sciences: by Wm. Whewell, D.D. 2 vols. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1858.
51. The following is a description of the premises set apart by the Commissioners for The Historical Museum:

“The building within said Park, heretofore known as the New York State Arsenal, together with the grounds under, around, and adjoining the same, bounded as follows, to wit: commencing at a point where the northerly line of Sixty-third Street, if continued in the same line north-westerly, would intersect the westerly line of Fifth Avenue; thence north-westerly on a line at right angles with the Fifth Avenue two hundred and sixty feet; thence north-easterly on a line parallel with the Fifth Avenue two hundred feet; thence north-westerly on a line at right angles with said avenue one hundred and ninety feet; thence north-easterly on a line parallel with the said avenue two hundred and sixty feet; thence south-easterly on a line at right angles with the said avenue four hundred and fifty feet to the westerly line of said avenue; and thence along the westerly line of said avenue four hundred and sixty feet to the place of beginning.”









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